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HENRY HUDSON, THE NAVIGATOR.

M.DCCC.LX

HENRY HUDSON

THE

NAVIGATOR.

THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

IN WHICH HIS CAREER IS RECORDED

COLLECTED, PARTLY TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

G. M. ASHER, LL.D.

60824

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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MONSIEUR D'AVEZAC,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED,

AS A MARK OF AFFECTIONATE REGARD,

AND AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR MUCH KIND

ENCOURAGEMENT.

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GROENLANDIA
YSLANDT
DIEV ES
DROIT
Ilka de Barallhas

INTRODUCTION.

Hudson's river, Hudson's strait, and Hudson's bay, remind every educated man of the illustrious navigator by whom they were explored. But though the name of Henry Hudson possesses these preservatives against oblivion, little more has been done on its behalf, and few persons have any accurate notion of the real extent of his merits. By considering Hudson as the discoverer of the three mighty waters that bear his name, we indeed both overrate and underrate his deserts. For it is certain that these three localities had repeatedly been visited and even drawn on maps and charts long before he set out on his voyages. Nor did he himself claim the discovery of the strait and bay. He was fully aware that he was but proceeding further on a track opened up by his predecessors. On the other hand, we may perhaps be too ready to overlook those parts of Hudson's achievements that have left their marks less strikingly on the geographical delineations of our globe. They are very important nevertheless. The mere extent of his voyages is sufficient to place him

very high among the explorers of the north. He surpasses in that respect all other arctic navigators, except one or two of our own days, who have enjoyed immense advantages over him. Besides his own original discoveries, he visited during the four last years of his life very nearly all the northern shores of Europe and Eastern America, which had been visited by his predecessors during the previous century, and everywhere his presence left at least some traces.

To fill up the gap in geographical literature here pointed out, no plan seems to be better fitted than the one generally adopted in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. The original records of a navigator's or traveller's exploits, if properly elucidated by notes and introductory remarks, constitute the most authentic portraiture of him that can be offered to the geographical reader. The example set by Marsden's *Marco Polo*, shows how very much may be accomplished in this manner. The editor of the present volume has tried to follow this great model; but, besides his too evident inferiority to the scholar, whom he has been trying to imitate, he has had difficulties to encounter, almost greater than those overcome by Mr. Marsden. The history of early northern discovery is both intricate and obscure, and it has not been thoroughly lighted up by anterior research. Many new investigations have thus become necessary; and the editor has also to present a most complicated subject in a clear and readable form; and this too in a language foreign to him. He hopes therefore not

to be judged too severely, if he partly fail in accomplishing his aim.

The records of Hudson's voyages which are here collected were originally noted down, and have been preserved by various hands. They are not all of equal authenticity. They even sometimes contradict each other; and it is in these cases not easy to elicit the truth. We must therefore examine each record with close attention to ascertain what reliance may be placed in it. But as we purpose to render such a review of our records perfectly clear and intelligible to every reader, it is necessary first to give, as briefly as possible, a summary of Hudson's career.

The whole period of his life known to us extends over little more than four years, from April 19, 1607, to June 21, 1611. The greater part of this time is filled up by four voyages, all of them undertaken in search of a short northern passage to the eastern shores of Asia. The first voyage was performed in 1607, for the Moscovy Company. Its purpose was the search of a north-eastern passage to China. The principal explorations made in the course of it were along the coast of Spitzbergen.

The second voyage took place in 1608, also in search of a north-eastern passage, and likewise for the Moscovy Company. In the course of it, part of Nova Zembla was explored.

The third voyage was undertaken in 1609, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company. Its starting place was Amsterdam, its original purpose still the search of a north-eastern route. But,

meeting, near Nova Zembla, with an unbroken barrier of ice, Hudson went to the west, and attempted the search for a north-western passage. The principal locality explored during this voyage is the North-American stream which we still call Hudson's river.

In 1610, Hudson again sailed to the north-west, in search of a passage. The expenses of the expedition were borne by three English gentlemen. Hudson explored the strait and part of the bay which bear his name. He passed the winter 1610-1611 in one of the most southern harbours of the bay. On the 21st June, 1611, a few days after he had again left that harbour, a mutiny broke out among the crew, and Hudson, with eight companions, was set adrift on the waves in a small boat, and has never since been heard of. The ship and part of the mutinous crew reached England in safety.

For the bulk of our information respecting Hudson's career we are indebted to Purchas. The third volume of his *Pilgrims* contains accounts of all the four voyages, written in part by Hudson himself, partly by some of his companions. The authenticity of these documents is beyond all question. Purchas states in his *Pilgrimage*,[1] that he received the accounts of the three first voyages from Hakluyt, the various papers relating to the fourth voyage from Sir Dudley Diggs, the principal promoter of that expedition.

The account of the first voyage,[2] to Greenland and

[1] See *infra*, pp. 139, 140. [2] Pp. 1 to 22 of the present vol.

Spitzbergen is a log-book, beginning with the departure from Gravesend, May 1, 1607, and concluding with the return to Tilbury, September 15, of the same year. This log-book is described by Purchas as "*written partly by John Playse*,[1] *one of the company, partly by Hudson himself.*" Such a divided authorship seems, however, very singular; and on closer examination we discover that it rests upon a conjecture made with some hesitation by Purchas.[2] He seems to have found the name of John Playse expressly mentioned as that of the author, on the manuscript he used. But whilst he could thus not doubt that at least the beginning of the log-book was due to that sailor, he was at a loss to explain the occurrence of some passages, more numerous at the end than at the beginning of the account, which no one but Hudson could have written.[3] Purchas, therefore, ascribes nearly one half of the log-book (from the 11th of July to the end) to Hudson. This explanation of the difficulty is, however, far too bold; and there are, besides, some positive reasons for considering it as unsatisfactory. No difference exists between the general tone and style of the part undoubtedly written by Playse, and that attributed, on the above grounds, to Hudson himself. Even the occurrence of passages from Hudson's pen does not form so distinctive a feature as would at first sight appear; for in the first part some

[1] The logbook itself calls him John Pleyce.

[2] See his side note, p. 12.

[3] P. 12, l. 12 to 16, l. 29; p. 14, l. 17, 34; p. 15, l. 24; p. 16, l. 2, l. 14; p. 19, l. 7; p. 21, l 2; p. 22, l. 34.

sentences occur which decidedly owe their origin to Hudson;[1] while there are many others, the original cast of which must have been furnished by our navigator, which Playse probably made his own by merely turning an *I* into a *we*.[2] Nor is it at all singular that a sailor, in composing for himself a log-book of the voyage he was engaged in, should make use of his captain's journal, which was most probably accessible to the crew of the vessel. That he should sometimes adopt, sometimes forget to make the slight alteration above referred to, and that he should in this respect be more negligent in the latter part of his log-book, was natural enough in a sailor writing for his own use a journal, the publication of which, eighteen years after it was written, he could not foresee, and would probably not have desired.

Under these circumstances it would seem most likely that the whole account of the voyage was written by Playse, but owes the greater part of its value to the notes which Playse derived from Hudson's journal. Any one who reads the log-book with attention will find this conjecture far more consistent than the one adopted by Purchas. Besides, there exist two authentic extracts from Hudson's own journal of the first voyage.[3] Both these very short papers contain facts not mentioned in the log-book, some of which at least took place after the 11th of

[1] P. 2, l. 15, l. 16.

[2] For instance, nearly the whole of p. 4 and p. 6, besides many other passages.

[3] See pp. 145, 146.

July, the date where Hudson's share of the log-book is said to begin. If the log-book was, indeed, partly his work, he must have purposely omitted some of his most important explorations.

As to John Playse or Pleyce, the probable writer of the whole log-book, next to nothing is known about him. His name occurs only once, as one of the crew of the ship in which the first voyage was performed. There he ranks very low. Among Hudson's eleven companions (one of whom was a boy), Playse's name stands seventh. He must therefore have been a common sailor; and it would be impossible to attribute to *him* the observations of the needle recorded *in the first person* on page 2 of his journal.[1] These observations, like all the other important parts of Playse's account, are evidently due to Hudson himself.

The log-book was probably intended only for Playse's private use, or perhaps also for some other sailor's. It is entirely of a professional nature. It contains, however, many passages of interest for the general reader, and principally those which reveal Hudson's ideas and plans. The descriptions of coasts, capes, harbours, and seas, are without any literary pretension. Still they are striking enough in their simplicity. For the history of geography, the log-book is of the very highest value, although it unfortunately lacks some important information but imperfectly supplied by other sources.

The account of the second voyage (to Nova Zem-

[1] P. 2, li. 5, l. 16.

bla) is likewise a log-book.[1] Henry Hudson himself is its author. It commences with the departure from London, April 22, 1608, and concludes with the return to Gravesend, August 26 of the same year. Its character is, in almost every respect, like that of Playse's journal. Some of the descriptions, however, are more detailed, and therefore more interesting to the general reader. This log-book also contains a curious account of a mermaid[2] seen by two of the sailors, which has often been quoted and reprinted. As a geographical record, the journal of the second voyage is of less importance than that of the first; it is nevertheless of great value.

Purchas says (in a footnote to p. 25) that he also had a journal of the second voyage, written by Hudson's mate, Robert Juet. Of this Journal only two very small fragments remain. The first, in one of Purchas' side-notes to Hudson's journal of the second voyage, on p. 30; the other, in the following line of "Hudson's Discoveries and Death" in Purchas' *Pilgrimage*. "They met, as both himself and Juet have testified, a mermaid in the sea."[3]

The account of the third voyage (to Hudson's river) is a journal kept by Robert Juet,[4] who had been Hudson's mate in the second voyage, and who was one of his companions in the third. It begins with the departure from Amsterdam, March 25th (April 4th, new style), 1609; it ends with the arrival in Dartmouth, November 7th of the same year. Juet's

[1] Present volume, pp. 23-44.
[2] P. 28.
[3] See *infra*, p. 139.
[4] Present vol., pp. 45 to 93.

journal is the most satisfactory of all the remaining records of Hudson's career. The indications of latitudes are generally more minute than those in the other papers, and most of them, when tested, prove to be as correct as the state of science in those times would allow. The descriptions are full enough to assist materially in identifying the localities. The style, though concise, is pleasant throughout, and the circumstance that during this voyage alone Hudson came frequently in contact with natives of unknown regions, furnishes the opportunity for narrating interesting incidents. The most important as well as the most pleasing part of the journal is the description of the journey up and down Hudson's river. There is, however, in Juet's paper, one less agreeable feature, which ought not to remain unnoticed. He speaks of the North American Indians always with distrust and often with animosity, and looks very complacently on the acts of injustice, nay, of barbarity, practised against them by some of the crew. With these views Hudson's very hearty and kindly appreciation of the qualities of the natives forms a most happy contrast, and it is quite certain that in this part of Juet's journal Hudson had no share. How far the astronomical observations, and, in fact, any other part of the journal may be attributed, either directly or indirectly, to Hudson, we have no means to ascertain. It is, however, probable that Juet's journal was in most respects an independent production. The scanty extract from a passage of the journal kept by Juet during the preceding voy-

age, which has been preserved in a side note to p. 30, is quite sufficient to prove that he made observations of his own, independent of those of Hudson. We have, besides, but too abundant proofs of his conceit, and of his independence of character. Also, when comparing Juet's journal of the third voyage with the scraps of information respecting the same expedition that can be traced back to Hudson, we cannot believe, as some authors have done, that Juet merely acted as Hudson's secretary. We must, on the contrary, award to Juet himself most of the praise and all the blame due to his journal.

The reader may perhaps be curious to know what position Juet held on board the vessel the journal of which he has left us; and this question is, in fact, of double importance, as it happens to involve that of Juet's nationality. Juet was Hudson's mate in the second and in the early part of the fourth voyage. It would therefore be natural enough to suppose, as some writers have done, that he also had the rank of mate in the third voyage, which intervened between the two other ones. His own journal furnishes no clue. It only calls him Robert Juet, of Limehouse, without stating what office he held. But Van Meteren, an excellent authority, informs us that the mate on board the *Half Moon*, the yacht that performed the third voyage, was a Dutchman. Thus, if Juet was that mate, he was a Dutchman. Now, strange to say, there are arguments of about equal strength for and against this double supposition; and though they cannot of course lead us to a

positive conclusion, we think it right to state them here. And, first, as regards the question whether Juet was the mate or no, it might seem singular that a man should accept a lower rank, after having the year before held the highest next to the captain. On the other hand, it is not only probable, but almost certain, that when the Dutch East India Company entrusted Hudson, a foreigner, with the command of one of their vessels, they obliged him to employ at least some of their own Dutch sailors. Hudson could then fill only the vacant places with his English friends. The mate may have been among those servants of the company, and Juet would then have been obliged to be satisfied with an inferior position. As to the question of nationality, Juet says that he is *of Limehouse*. His journal is also thoroughly English, without a shade of foreign idiom. But many Dutchmen were then living in England, and their nation possesses a wonderful facility in acquiring foreign languages, especially English. After carefully weighing these arguments *pro* and *contra*, the writer of the present observations inclines to think that Juet was an Englishman, and that he was not the mate on board the *Half Moon*, but held some other position in that ship.

Juet's career, after the termination of the third voyage, may be told in a few lines. He again acted as mate in Hudson's fourth and last voyage, which commenced April 17th, 1610. Scarcely more than six weeks after leaving home, in the beginning of June, he already showed a mutinous disposition, and

threatened to turn the ship's head homeward. In this conduct he persisted, often "using words tending to mutiny, discouragement and slander of the action, which easily took effect in those that were timorous,"[1] and trying to persuade some of the crew to keep swords and loaded muskets ready in their cabins. These facts having been reported to Hudson, Juet declared them to be untrue, and demanded a trial, which took place the 10th of September, 1610. Juet was found guilty and deposed from his office. When the seed of mutiny thus sown by Juet had, nearly a year afterwards, taken effect, and Hudson had been set adrift on the waves by his mutinous crew, the command of the captainless vessel was not entrusted to Juet, but he was often consulted by his companions. He died from sheer want, when near the end of the dreadful return voyage, and almost in sight of the Irish coast, early in September, 1611.[2] One of his companions calls him "an ancient man."[3] He must therefore have been past middle age at the time of his death.

Purchas has preserved four documents illustrating Hudson's last voyage (to Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay). He calls the first of them *An Abstract from Henry Hudson's Journal.*[4] This paper must, indeed, be a mere fragment of the original journal, for it extends only over about three months and a half from the day of departure, April 17th, 1610, to

[1] See Wydhouse's note, pp. 136-138.

[2] P. 133; for the date, see p. 144.

[3] P. 118.

[4] Pp. 93 to 97.

August 3rd of the same year. We have no reason to think that Hudson ever failed in his duty of keeping a regular logbook as long as he was on board his ship, that is to say, to the 21st of June, 1611. More than ten months of his journal are therefore wanting. The origin of the deficiency is easily explained. The logbook undoubtedly contained many disclosures which the mutinous crew of the vessel had strong motives to suppress. The paper which they brought home and handed to their employers seems, indeed, most fully to deserve the name of an *abstract*. Omissions seem to have been made, not only at the end, but also in other parts of the original. The almost complete silence about the sojourn in Iceland, during which Juet's evil disposition began to show itself, looks very suspicious. Our regrets about the irreparable loss of the main part of Hudson's journal are, however, in vain, and we must seek some consolation in the very great value of what is left us.

The abstract reaches, as has already been observed, down to the 3rd of August, 1610. It ends with a short description of Cape Wolstenholme and its neighbourhood, and embraces, therefore, the whole voyage through Hudson's Strait to the very point where Hudson's Bay opens. Unfortunately the whole abstract forms less than five pages, the three last of which contain the description of the strait. Under these circumstances it is, perhaps, a matter rather of congratulation than of regret that these pages offer but little interest to the general reader, and are filled with dry details, observations of latitudes, indications

of the ship's course, and short descriptions. Such as they are they furnish us, with the assistance of Hudson's chart, the means of tracing Hudson's voyage through the strait almost better than any other part of his explorations.

The second document, *A Larger Discourse of the same Voyage, by Abacuk Pricket*,[1] is of a very different, and, in fact, of an almost unique nature. The author was a servant of Sir Dudley Diggs, the principal promoter of the expedition, and formed part of Hudson's crew. According to Purchas, Pricket's life was spared by the mutineers that he might intercede for them with his master.[2] He seems to have been very anxious to fulfil this engagement. Though the paper he has left us is in form a narrative, the author's real intention was much more to defend the mutineers than to describe the voyage. As an apologetical essay the "Larger Discourse" is extremely clever. It manages to cast some, not too much, shadow upon Hudson himself. The main fault of the mutiny is thrown upon some men who had ceased to live when the ship reached home. Those who were then still alive are presented as guiltless, some as highly deserving men.

Pricket's account of the mutiny and of its cause has often been suspected. Even Purchas himself[3] and Fox speak of it with distrust. But Pricket is the only eye-witness that has left us an account of these events, and we can therefore not correct his statements, whether they be true or false. Be-

[1] Pp. 98 to 135. [2] See p. 138. [3] P. 135.

sides being an apology for the mutineers, the "Larger Discourse" is not without value as a narrative. It was evidently written quietly at home; not during the turmoil of a voyage. The author's special purpose induces him to dwell at great length on some scenes of real life that passed on and near the ship. By far the greater part of his discourse is devoted to these scenes, which have always been, and will always be, perused with interest.

As a geographical record the "Larger Discourse" is most unsatisfactory. Its statements, which must in greater part have been put down from recollection only, without any reference to notes made during the voyage, are mostly vague in the extreme. Here and there, however, some more precise statement adds something to the store of reliable information supplied by Hudson's journal and chart. For the voyage and wintering in the bay, and for the voyage home, the *Discourse* is, unfortunately, the only document of any value that is left us.

The two remaining documents are of but minor importance. The first is a letter from Iceland, reprinted by Purchas without the author's name;[1] but apparently written by Hudson himself. This letter, dated May 30, 1610, speaks of the sojourn in Iceland and of the good shooting they got there. It mentions incidentally the number of Hudson's crew, but contains no other valuable information.

[1] Purchas speaks of the authorship, on p. 135, in so confused a manner, that it is impossible to see whether he attributed it to Hudson, to Juet, or to Wydhouse.

The last of the documents published in the *Pilgrims*, is a note found in the desk of Thomas Wydhouse,[1] a mathematical student. The note records the trial of Juet, to which we have already alluded, and the changes among the officers of the ship which Hudson made in consequence of it. Wydhouse's name is also spelled Woodhouse, Wydowse, and Widowes. Of his personal history nothing is known, beyond the fact that he was one of the unfortunate men who were set adrift with Hudson.

Purchas, in publishing the above documents in his *Pilgrims*, adds to them some side notes, foot notes, headings, and observations, the responsibility of which belongs to him alone.

Two of the headings[2] and the only important foot note[3] have already been discussed; the others may safely be taken on trust as correct. As to the side notes, by far the greater part of them form merely a running index to the contents of the text, according to a custom usual in those times, and which some writers of our days have very properly revived. Of the remaining side notes, some are references to other sources of geographical information, some are explanations of nautical terms used in the text, whilst two are moral reflections on the events narrated by Pricket. Only two of the side notes deserve a more particular mention. They occur on pp. 13 and 40, and both express in strong terms Purchas's opinion respecting the discovery of Spitzbergen and Nova

[1] Pp. 136-138.

[2] Playse's Journal—Hudson's Abstract.

[3] The note to p. 23.

Zembla. This opinion is so very far from correct, that we almost wonder how it could have arisen. Some explanations of its origin will be offered in another part of these pages. We may, however, here observe, that Purchas soon became conscious of having been somewhat severe towards the Dutch, the real discoverers of Spitzbergen, whom his notes represent as interlopers. He says, in the introduction to the third volume of the *Pilgrims*, that his judgment was biassed by the influence of Englishmen, who took an interested view of the question at issue; that is to say, by the Company of Merchant Adventurers. Considering the great number of important documents furnished to Purchas by this society, we can hardly blame him for listening for a moment to their insinuations, and it is highly creditable that he acknowledges his error.

A short postscript[1] is added by Purchas to Pricket's discourse. Purchas there expresses his distrust in the narrator's faithfulness, and says that for this reason he reprints the letter from Iceland and Wydhouse's statement, by which Pricket's account may in some degree be tested.

Another short notice is appended to Wydhouse's paper.[2] This notice contains some additional facts concerning the fourth voyage, obtained from a source which Purchas considers as authentic. They are, however, not very reliable, and part of them seem to be derived from Hessel Gerritz's book, of which we shall have ample occasion to speak.

[1] P. 135. [2] P. 138.

Purchas' *Pilgrimage*, a work which is often considered as the fifth volume of the *Pilgrims*, contains a remarkable chapter entitled, *Of Hudson's Discoveries and Death.* This chapter is reprinted in the present collection.[1] It is mainly a summary of the materials published in the *Pilgrims*, and as such it is not even very complete. Its real importance consists in the additional information it furnishes. It names the source from which the documents printed in the *Pilgrims* were obtained, it gives a very small fragment of Juet's lost journal, it mentions the names of the gentlemen at whose expense the last expedition was undertaken, and it tells us on what day the mutinous crew of the vessel reached the Irish shore on their home voyage. It also clears up some questions of minor importance.

Purchas has again added some side notes to this chapter. Only two of them are remarkable. They show how earnestly he persisted in the belief that Hudson had discovered a passage to the South Sea.

After having examined the chapters in Purchas' *Pilgrims* and *Pilgrimage* which are devoted to Hudson's life, we must now review a certain amount of fragmentary intelligence collected from various sources. These fragments enable the student to fill up many gaps left by the more detailed records; they also, in more than one instance, throw a new light on some of the most important events of Hudson's voyages.

The two first fragments are again due to Purchas.

[1] Pp. 139-141.

They do not, however, form part of those pages of his work where he treats specially of our navigator, but occur accidentally in two papers not directly bearing upon Hudson's career. Two captains in the service of the Muscovy Company, Edge and Fotherby, have left short accounts of their own and of some other voyages to Spitzbergen. Both made use of the manuscripts deposited in the archives of their employers, and among them of *the Journal kept by Hudson during his First Voyage.* Each of them gives a short extract from this document, of which all other traces are lost. These extracts, of a few lines each, are reprinted in our collection.[1] They are fortunately of very great importance, in spite of their brevity, especially the one due to Edge. The naming of Whale Bay and of Hakluyt's Headland, on the north coast of Spitzbergen, as well as the discovery of Jan Mayen Island (Hudson's Tutches), are here, and only here, recorded. Fotherby's extract throws some light on Hudson's explorations along the shore of Greenland.

The authenticity of the two extracts is unquestionable. Edge and Fotherby were in the service of the company for whom the first voyage was performed, and which was, as a matter of course, in possession of Hudson's logbook. Both captains wrote a few years after Hudson's first voyage; and Purchas, who printed their accounts, was in the habit of receiving documents from the Muscovy Company.

The remaining fragments are, with only one exception, of *Dutch* origin, as are also the two maps in

[1] Pp. 145, 146.

our collection. To make the nature of these papers understood we shall have briefly to relate some events of Dutch history that are but little noticed, even in the Netherlands, and with which we can therefore not expect all our readers to be fully acquainted. These events had, besides, a direct and strong influence on Hudson's connexion with the Dutch East India Company, and serve to explain some of the consequences of his third voyage. We believe therefore that we are justified in adverting to them here.

The Netherlands, and more especially the southern provinces, were, during the latter part of the middle ages, the centre of European commerce. In their ports the ships of the north and the caravels of the south met to exchange their cargoes. The transatlantic discoveries which mark the beginning of the modern era, and which produced such important changes in the roads of trade, did not affect the central position of the Netherlands. As the streams of wealth had long poured into Ghent and Bruges, so they now began to pour into Antwerp; and this town was, in the middle of the sixteenth century, by far the most important emporium in Europe. The whole country shared these advantages, as is always the case under such circumstances; and learning, art, literature, but before all industry, flourished on the favoured spot.

The writings of many eminent historians have rendered all of us familiar with the terrible events which put an end to this prosperity. We all know

how the Spanish veterans, the German mercenaries, the French soldiery, pillaged the towns, burnt the villages, devastated the open country; and how thousands suffered martyrdom by Alba's hand. To escape this persecution nearly three hundred thousand families left their homes, an almost incredible efflux from so small a country.

It is surprising that so few writers have asked themselves the question, "What became of all this multitude?" This question is, indeed, not readily answered. We can, however, trace the steps of some of the emigrants to England, of some to Sweden, of some to Russia, and of one even so far as the Azores. They went to every part of the world. The immense majority seem to have escaped for a while to the neighbouring parts of Germany, and then to have streamed into the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands, as these were gradually being freed from the Spanish yoke.

Most of the riches, the energy, the enlightenment of the Netherlands thus became concentrated in the northern provinces, more especially in Holland and Zealand. Amsterdam became the heir of Antwerp, and the new-born republic of the seven provinces, with its few square miles of land and its few millions of inhabitants, soon took its place among the leading European powers.

It has never been well ascertained how much the emigrants contributed to this sudden growth of Holland and Zealand; nor is there much hope that the question will ever be answered. Besides the great

difficulties of the inquiry, there is no one to whom it properly belongs. We cannot expect the Dutch to invite jealous rivals to a share in their glory, and the Belgians of the present day seem hardly to remember that the illustrious Protestant emigrants of the sixteenth century were their compatriots. The following stray facts, though bearing on this great question, are not intended as an answer to it. Their purpose merely is to throw light on our own subject.

Among the emigrants who settled in the northern provinces there were many merchants, especially from Antwerp, who had brought with them a part of their riches, all their knowledge and experience, and even more than their usual energy. They gave an immense impulse to Dutch trade. The names of many of them are necessarily forgotten, and even of those which are remembered a few only can be mentioned here. The most illustrious of them is Balthasar de Moucheron. He may almost be called the father of Dutch commerce. Before any other Dutch vessels ventured out of the well-known waters, we find his ships showing the way to Russia and to the Arctic Ocean. He was also the principal originator of the three expeditions to the north, which made the name of the Dutch celebrated all over Europe.[1] He, before all others, sent, on private account, ships to the East Indies. The great name which we have tried to render familiar to our readers will meet them again in

[1] The expeditions described by De Veer, of which an excellent edition by Dr. Beke forms part of the collections of the Hakluyt Society. See the Introduction to that work, p. lv.

these pages. It also occurs in Lambrechtsen's account of Hudson's life, printed among the papers of our collection.[1]

It would lead us too far were we to dwell on the merits of some other emigrants who rendered distinguished service to the advancement of trade in the Netherlands, but whose career is not directly connected with our subject; such as Isaac and Jacob Le Maire, Jacques Mahu, Pieter des Marées, Samuel Godyn, Jacques l'Heremite, and many others. We must, however, introduce to our readers' notice one more great man, whose name has hardly yet been heard in England.

William Usselincx, like Le Maire and Moucheron, an Antwerp merchant who settled in Zealand, was the founder of the Dutch West India Company. This company, though mighty enough in its day, is now very nearly forgotten. It was established in 1621, and obtained the privilege of trade to America. It thus inherited the discovery of Hudson's river, and peopled its banks with industrious colonists. Usselincx himself was a man of extraordinary genius. As early as 1591, at a time when the power of Spain overshadowed the world, he alone among millions saw the real weakness of the seeming giant. He proposed to the Dutch to attack Spain in her colonies, especially in America, and thus to undermine her power. His keen eye perceived that the Dutch could successfully undertake this task, but they would not believe him. He had to struggle thirty years

[1] See *infra*, p. 164.

before his great idea was partly realized, before the West India Company was established. The fate of the banks of the Hudson depended upon the issue of these struggles, and we might therefore, perhaps, be allowed to devote a few more lines to them. But we are afraid of losing sight of our main object, the review of our records, and we must therefore leave Usselincx for the present.

The first of the Dutch fragments which we were going to review, is an extract from Emanuel van Meteren's chronicle of the great war between Spain and the Netherlands.[1] Van Meteren was, like most of the men we have just spoken of, an Antwerp merchant. Like them he left his country for the sake of his religion. But he did not settle down in Holland or Zealand. He went to London, and tried there to serve the cause of his country. He was a man of unflinching energy and of great mental powers; he seems also to have possessed considerable means. The young republic of the Netherlands made therefore an excellent choice when it appointed him its consul for England. This official position, as well as his extensive business transactions, brought him into contact with many eminent personages. He was thus enabled to collect by various means an astounding amount of information on contemporary events. He seems to have at first accumulated his notes without any settled purpose: this at least is his own statement. He adds that his cousin, the celebrated Abraham Ortelius, suggested to him the idea of pub-

[1] Pp. 145 to 153.

lishing these memoirs. Howsoever this may be, the work itself does not bear the stamp of an assemblage of loose papers. It is written with great care, is better connected than any one of the numerous contemporary chronicles, and is teeming with life. It has deservedly obtained a place among the historical masterpieces of all ages. Not that the book is well known to the public. But whoever reads it for the first time, is surprised to find how familiar every page is to him. The admirable portraiture of the principal characters in the great drama, the wonderful descriptions of preachings, pillages, sieges, and battles have been borrowed by the most eminent writers, and the statements of facts have passed into the current history of the sixteenth century. They are contained in all our handbooks. It is perhaps not too much to say, that the great favour which the events in the Netherlands during Philip II's reign have found in the eyes of historians, poets, and artists, may be mainly ascribed to the ease with which materials can be borrowed from Van Meteren's inexhaustible store. The numerous modern researches which form a brilliant superstructure on this solid foundation, prove that the general confidence in Van Meteren's accuracy is very deservedly bestowed.

Van Meteren's history, such as we now have it, consists of two very unequal parts. The first, the main work, embraces the whole of Philip II's reign, ending with the year 1598. It was written when the author was yet in full possession of his great powers, and it was published under his care. The second part,

a supplement, brings the chronicle down to the year 1611. It bears the most evident marks of the old man. The author, then seventy-six years of age, hurried to finish it, feeling, as he himself says, the call to another world pressing upon him. He was not even to see it in print. He died in 1612. The supplement was published for the first time in 1614. The great beauties to which we have alluded are to be found only in the main work; but conscientiousness and accuracy belong to both parts alike. The supplement has a character of its own, which makes the description of Hudson's voyage contained in it all the more valuable as an historical source. The latter part of Van Meteren's history is more like a collection of documents and notices chronologically arranged, and very slightly connected among themselves, than like a regular narrative. Most of the pieces are evidently in the original state in which they were first inserted among the author's notes.

This is more especially the case with regard to the account of Hudson's voyage. The account bears the stamp of having been rather hastily translated from a verbal or written communication. Its real author is most probably Hudson himself. This supposition is borne out by the circumstances in which Van Meteren and Hudson were placed, and by some curious internal evidence. Van Meteren, when speaking of Hudson and of his companions, very naturally uses the words "*they* left," "*they* feared," etc. But all on a sudden we meet with the following passage: "Thence

they sailed along the shore until WE reached 40° 45'."[1] Can there be any more natural supposition than that the old man here committed an oversight similar to those pointed out by us in Playse's logbook? He probably had an account of the voyage written by Hudson, and in translating it he once forgot to turn *we* into *they*. All attentive readers of early voyages will remember that this is a very common oversight. The old merchant was, besides, in London at the time of Hudson's return from his voyage. We learn from him that our navigator was prevented, by the commands of the English government, from going to Holland and laying his reports before his employers. It is but natural that Hudson should in this difficulty have applied to the Dutch consul, and it is probable that the correspondence between Hudson and the East India Company, which is mentioned by Van Meteren, passed through Van Meteren's own hands.

But even if we hesitate to ascribe this origin to Van Meteren's account of the third voyage, it still remains a document of great importance. It cannot have been written down much more than a year after Hudson's return. The excellent opportunities which the author enjoyed, and his justly celebrated conscientiousness, are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the facts related by him.

The contents of the account coincide in many points with the statements made by Juet, and serve so far to confirm them. Van Meteren is the only source

[1] P. 150.

that throws light on the events which happened between the 5th and the 19th of May, 1609, on Hudson's voyage from the North Cape to the neighbourhood of Nova Zembla, the mutiny of the crew, Hudson's propositions made to them, and the final determination to sail to the west instead of the east. Juet preserves a suspicious silence on all these matters. His journal contains no entry, from the first arrival of the vessel at the North Cape until its return to the same point. Van Meteren further informs us that Hudson was a friend of Captain Smith, the celebrated explorer of Virginia, and that the idea of searching for a passage under 40°, was in a great measure due to the advice of this illustrious man. We could hardly venture to enumerate here all the other important facts which can be gathered from this account of the third voyage. We must in this respect refer the reader to the observations on the voyage itself, which we shall offer in another part of the present introduction.

Two more remarks have, however, yet to be made. Van Meteren's account opens with a reference to the preceding (the 30th) book of his chronicle. The notice to which he alludes must have dropped out of his papers before the work was sent to the press. It is not to be found in any of the printed editions. The second remark is, that the whole account, from the words, "this Henry Hudson" (*Desen Herry Hutson*) down to the end, has been reprinted, but without the author's name, by Commelijn, in his celebrated work *Begin en Voorlgang van de Nederlandsche Oost Indische*

Compagnie, and has thence passed into Constantin de Reneville's still more celebrated *Voyages entrepris pour la Compagnie des Indes*, etc. The latter work is therefore often, but quite erroneously, quoted as an original source for the biography of Henry Hudson.[1]

The next fragments that come under our consideration,[2] are taken from De Laet's description of America. Before speaking of them more especially, we have to make some general observations bearing as well on this as on other parts of our subject.

John De Laet was one of the Directors of the Dutch West India Company. He was of Belgian origin, like Willem Usselincx, the founder of the association, and like most of the men who took a leading part in it. The Company itself may, in fact, be considered as having emanated from the Belgian emigrants settled in the northern provinces, and as the principal representative of their aims and views. By the war between Spain and the Netherlands the trade of central Europe was forced out of its wonted channels. The Belgian towns, the theatre of so much violence, became unsafe depositories for the riches of all nations, many of the most industrious merchants fled, the harbour of Antwerp was almost deserted, and the mouth of the Scheldt was made inaccessible

[1] The editor of the present book has refrained from introducing long titles into his text. But knowing the great importance of exact bibliographical descriptions, he is going to append, at the end of the volume, a list of all the works mentioned in it, with the necessary bibliographical details.

[2] Pp. 154-166.

by vigilant cruisers, long before it was entirely closed by international treaties. By far the greater part of the commerce thus lost to Belgium found its way to Holland and Zealand. The Belgian emigrants, whose activity greatly contributed to this change, saw it, however, with the utmost regret. They had never fairly adopted Holland, Zealand, and the other northern provinces as their permanent abode, but continued to look to the south as to their own dear home. They even shrank from matrimonial alliances with the original inhabitants of the north, and formed in every respect a separate body, closely knit together by common interests and common longings. They felt the yoke which was pressing on the Belgians almost as heavily as if they had themselves still been groaning under it, and they longed with all their hearts to drive the Spaniards from their ancient homesteads, to return in triumph, and to introduce the Protestant religion into their native country. The plan by which they intended to effect this noble purpose is so grand that it hardly deserves the oblivion with which history has punished its failure. They proposed to attack the Spaniards in all their colonies, to destroy their resources, and thus to disable them from holding Belgium any longer. The events of after times have clearly proved that this might have been done, had the Hollanders and Zealanders not been prevented by opposite interests from joining heartily in these generous efforts.

Among the means which the emigrants devised for the realization of their scheme, there is one which de-

serves in the highest degree the attention of the geographical student. It was evident that a body of men who proposed to themselves an object like the one they had in view, must needs first possess a thorough knowledge of the configuration of the earth, so as to direct their steps safely to any point on its surface. The emigrants counted in their ranks a number of men of high scientific acquirements, and among these the idea sprang up, more distinctly in some, less distinctly in others, to assist by scientific research and geographical labours in the deliverance of their country. The names of these men are familiar to the geographical student. Mercator, the De Brys, Hulsius, Bertius, De Laet, Cluverius, Peter Plancius, Jodocus, and Henry Hondius, are known to us all as being among the fathers of modern geography; but it seems to be forgotten that a nobler aim than mere scientific research animated their efforts.

The Dutch West India Company was, first as a scheme, afterwards as a reality, the centre point of all these endeavours. They disdained the peaceful arts by which other privileged associations of the same class have grown mighty and rich. Their aim was to attack the Spaniard in his transatlantic strongholds; to sink or take the ships in which he transported his silver and gold; to cut him off, if possible, from all connections with the New World. All the other affairs, which the nature of their position and the extent of their privileges forced upon them, were treated as minor matters, hardly worthy of their attention. But their main object was pur-

sued with an energy beyond all belief. In spite of all the difficulties they had to contend with, they long maintained a war fleet of more than seventy sail, and almost succeeded in driving the Spaniards from the American seas.

John de Laet was one of the earliest and most eminent directors of the West India Company. His description of America, the work from which our extracts are taken, is marked by the same features which distinguish the company itself and the body of men from which that association sprang. As a geographical compilation it is one of the finest even among those produced by the Belgian emigrants, and for systematic treatment, precision, and general accuracy, it may perhaps claim the very first rank among the manuals of the time. Its main portion, the description of the coasts and islands under Spanish sway, is the work of a man whose eye is greedily fixed upon those lands, and who is mentally grasping them. But that part does not regard us. Our extracts are derived from a chapter (the third) which is principally devoted to an account of New Netherland, the large territory in North America claimed by the West India Company on the ground of Hudson's discoveries, and at that time in small part occupied by their agents. This part of the work bears, like the rest, the stamp of the interests which the author pursued. To establish the company's title to New Netherland, and to substantiate it by all possible details, this seems to be its special purpose. Unfortunately the task is an ungrateful one. The

claim of the company to New Netherland was based upon specious pretences, which do not stand the test of close inspection. We shall have again to insist upon this fact, because it is far from being generally admitted; and because it explains some curious features in De Laet's and Van der Donck's accounts of Hudson's third voyage. The flaw in the Dutch title has besides given origin to an idle and entirely unwarranted story, which has found its way into more than one biography of Henry Hudson. We shall resume these matters when speaking of Van der Donck. For the present we have only to call the reader's attention to the artful manner in which De Laet tries to connect the voyage of Henry Hudson with the company's claim. He endeavours to establish a chain of events and arguments between the two points; and, we are sorry to state it, he does not scruple to forge an extra link which he believes to be necessary. *He makes Hudson return to Amsterdam to give an account of his voyage.* We know, on unquestionable authority, that this statement of De Laet is false; and he was far too accurate to make such a blunder through negligence. His special purpose becomes therefore the more evident. Under these circumstances we must be extremely cautious in using any such statements of his as would tend to strengthen the Dutch title to New Netherland. This caution will be necessary in more instances than one.

The above remarks refer only to one or two passages. The rest of De Laet's description of Hudson's third voyage must be reckoned among our most reliable

documents. The description of the voyage occurs incidentally in two different chapters, the seventh and tenth, of the third book of De Laet's *Nieuwe Werelt*. The second of these passages consists almost entirely of two fragments, the only remaining ones, of Hudson's report to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. The short summary of the whole voyage contained in the first passage, seems for the most part to be derived from the same source. No one will read these fragments of Hudson's journal without regretting the loss of the paper from which they are taken. Short as they are, they form the most graphic picture of the life, manners, and aspect of the North American Indians, left by any one of the early navigators. It may, perhaps, not be superfluous to observe that we do not even possess the original cast of Hudson's words. As De Laet gives them, they are merely a translation. Hudson himself, though for a short time in the service of the Dutch, could not easily understand, and therefore certainly not write their language. He required the services of a friend to translate for him some Dutch papers, which he desired to make use of during this same voyage.

A few years ago, when the writer of the present pages was staying in Holland, a rumour had got abroad, that a part of De Laet's manuscript materials had turned up. The rumour was entirely unfounded; and for the present there appears to be no chance that the original of Hudson's report should come to light. Much may however be hoped for from future re-

searches. Little is lost in so eminently conservative a country as Holland; and attention has lately been much directed to these matters. Search has also been made in the Archives of the East India Company, for any materials relating to Hudson. The scraps of information gathered from these archives will be given elsewhere in these pages. Hudson's report has not as yet been discovered. It is very possible that it was, in De Laet's time, given up to the West India Company or lent, and thought of too little importance to be asked back. There is also some chance left of its still being found among the papers of the East India Company. This immense store of documents was till quite lately without calendars, or indices of any kind. It has, since, been entrusted to able hands; and many important discoveries will undoubtedly be made among its dusty piles.

De Laet's Nieuwe Werelt, appeared first in 1625; then for a second time in 1630. Copies of the earlier edition are rare; and none was to be found in this country. Our reprints are therefore taken from the 1630 edition. A gentleman in Holland, however, to whose unostentatious labours historical research is greatly indebted, has been so kind as to compare for us the text of the two editions, and has found them to agree in every word; as far at least as our extracts are concerned. A reprint both of the seventh and tenth chapter of the third book, is to be found in a very rare tract, *Beschryvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt*, etc. 4to., Amsterdam, 1651, pp. 14, 15; and 20 to 22.

The next two extracts in our collection[1] are taken from the account of Hudson's voyage, which forms part of Lambrechtsen's history of New Netherland. Some of the statements in that account cannot be traced back to printed sources, and there is every reason to believe that they were borrowed from early documents, then existing at Middelburg. The facts in question all relate to Hudson's intercourse with the Dutch East India Company. At the time when Lambrechtsen wrote, a remarkable collection of documents belonging to that Company was preserved at Middelburg: and Lambrechtsen, as might be expected from his high standing, had access to them. He quotes repeatedly in his history from the "*Notulen van de* xvii"; that is to say, the minutes of the proceedings of the seventeen East India directors. It cannot, however, be positively asserted, that the statements which we are discussing were taken from this important source. Nothing certain can be said on this point, as long as the above mentioned collection of documents remains inaccessible. It was for a long time in private hands at Middelburg, was then, about eight or nine years ago, surrendered to the East India Company in Amsterdam; and, has still more recently been transferred to the royal archives at the Hague. But as there has never been a calendar, or any other kind of list made, there is but too good reason to fear that some of the papers may have been lost on the way. Some inquiries made by the writer of the present pages, both by correspondence and

[1] Pp. 164 to 166.

verbally, during a short sojourn on the spot, have led to no results. We are thus, for the present, obliged to take Lambrechtsen's assertions on trust.

We have already alluded to the extracts from Van der Donck's description of New Netherland; which follow next in the order of our documents.[1] Van der Donck speaks, in several passages of his work, of Hudson's third voyage, and he makes several statements respecting it, which disagree more or less with the earlier and better sources. These statements might seem to deserve implicit credit, on account of the opportunities for obtaining information which the author possessed; and some conscientious writers have indeed fully trusted them. We consider all these statements as spurious, not only because they are not borne out by contemporary evidence, but more especially because they all tend to strengthen the Dutch title to New Netherland, which Van der Donck had a strong interest to defend.

The following was Van der Donck's position with regard to this title. The title itself was little better than a shadow. It was entirely founded on the boldest, the most obstinate, and most extensive act of *squatting*, recorded in colonial history. The territory called New Netherland, which the West India Company claimed on account of Hudson's discovery, belonged by the best possible right to England. It formed part of a vast tract of country, the coasts of which had been first discovered by English ships, on which settlements had been founded

[1] Pp. 167 to 172.

by English colonists, and which had been publicly claimed by England, and granted to an English Company, before Hudson ever set foot on American ground.. But the wilds and wastes of primeval forests, were thought of so little value, that the Dutch were for many years allowed to encroach upon English rights, without much more than passing remonstrances of the British government.

Some Dutch adventurers, induced by the favourable accounts of Henry Hudson, and of some Dutch mariners who followed in his track, first founded a factory and built a fort on an island in the mouth of Hudson's river—the beginning of New York. The adventurers afterwards obtained, as a protection against the commercial opposition of their own countrymen, the exclusive privilege of trading to those parts. Both the privilege and the settlement passed into the hands of the Dutch West India Company, who enlarged the fort till it gradually became a town, made vast grants of land, sent out colonists, and commissioned some of their servants to rule over the colony. This rule of the West India Company lasted for more than forty years. But it is a remarkable fact, that during nearly all that time the Dutch government could not be induced to acknowledge New Netherland openly and distinctly as a Dutch dependency. This singular state of affairs led, as may easily be imagined, to ardent contentions between the English and Dutch colonists in New England and New Netherland, neither of which sets of men was naturally disposed to yield. Of these contentions Van

der Donck. He resided in New Netherland from 1641 to 1649, first as a law officer (schout fiscael) in the colony of Rensselaerswyck; afterwards as a settler near New York. He quarrelled with the somewhat despotic governor of the country, and headed a faction opposed to the colonial government. He, at last, returned to Holland, as the leader of a deputation of influential settlers, who were to expose at home all the wrongs by which they believed the colony and themselves to be oppressed. Van der Donck wrote two books in support of the cause which he represented, both of which contain short descriptions of Hudson's voyage. The first of them, called *Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederland*, and published in 1650, is mainly an account of the misrule of the colony, with a short description of the country, and other similar matters. It contains the germs of the ingenious inventions concerning Hudson's voyage, which are further developed in the second work, *Beschryvinghe van Nieuw Nederland*, from which our extracts are taken. Van der Donck's reason for making these inventions is obvious enough. He wished to induce the Dutch government to take strong measures against the New Englanders in defence of the pretended right of the Dutch settlers. His reason for being more explicit in the second work than in the first is also very obvious. The war between England and Holland (1552 to 1554) intervened between the two publications. After its termination several delegates were sent out from Holland to England, to arrange the numerous dif-

ferences which existed between the two countries. These delegates were urged by the West India Company to bring the North American disputes to a peaceable arrangement. But they failed, and wrote to Holland, that *they themselves did not consider the claim of the Company as substantiated by the evidence adduced; and that, unless better evidence was brought forward, they could not possibly press the claim on the English government.* This correspondence was going on at the very time when Van der Donck was engaged upon the compilation of his work.

The fictions in which Van der Donck has indulged, are of so serious a character, that we have been obliged to make this digression to put them in their true light. He represents Hudson as having taken possession for the Dutch, of a tract of country, which belonged to England. Nothing however could be further from Hudson's intention, and even from that of his employers, the Dutch East India Company, who looked with anything but favour on the endeavours to establish the rule of the Netherlands in the New World.

Hudson's long stay in Holland, for which Van der Donck is the only authority, seems likewise to be an invention, made to render the taking possession of New Netherland for the Dutch a less unlikely act. This residence in Holland is not an absolute impossibility. It may, however, be observed, that Hudson was in 1607 and 1608 in English service; and that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Dutch language to understand, without an English translation, some papers of Barents, which had been lent to

him. It was, on the other hand, not an uncommon practice among English captains, to enter the Dutch service, as is shown by the examples of Davis, Adams, and Hudson himself. We are on the whole inclined to think, that Van der Donck possessed no information concerning our navigator, which is not existing at the present day; and that the startling new facts which he adds, had their origin in his fertile imagination. The sources which he made use of were De Laet and Van Meteren, and in copying the latter author, he has made a most ludicrous mistake, which must at once deprive his assertions of all credit.[1]

Van der Donck,[2] and, a century and a half after, Dr. Heckewelder[3] and Dr. Barton,[4] noted down on the spot, a sort of legend of Hudson's arrival in America, handed down by the American Indians. There is a considerable discrepancy between the earlier and the later accounts. A scene of drunkenness, which really happened, is dwelt on at great length in the more modern story, without being even mentioned in the old one. We are not inclined to attribute much weight to this tradition, either in its simple or its adorned state. A tale of this kind is very likely to be elicited from the imaginative aborigines, by the eager questioning of the white man. The tale, whether true or false, has the merit of being well told. The etymological argument by which Dr. Heckewelder attempts to support it, ought rather to detract from, than to increase its credit. The name of

[1] See *infra*, pp. 152, note 1; 167, note 1.

[2] Pp. 169-170. [3] Pp. 173-179. [4] P. 179.

the island Manhattans is *not*, as he asserts, derived from a scene of drunkenness. It is taken from a tribe of Indians, and is already mentioned by Hudson himself.

Another American tradition, concerning Hudson's first landing place, does not seem entitled to much more credit. The early settlers in those regions had other cares than these historical recollections to attend to. We possess several remarkable books written by some of them, and it does not seem that they paid much attention to subjects of the kind. The tradition is probably of a comparatively modern origin, having its source in a guess. The locality mentioned is not by any means the most likely one for Hudson's first landing.

Our next fragment[1] is taken from Luke Foxe's *North West Fox*. The book which bears this singular title is the description of Captain Foxe's voyage in search of a north-west passage, performed in the year 1631. Foxe has therein set an example, which has been very generally followed in later accounts of north-western expeditions. Before describing his own voyage he gives a summary of the exploits of his predecessors. Most of the statements contained in that part of his book are, however, of little importance, being merely extracts from sources which we still possess. Such is also his account of Hudson's voyage. The only notice in it that is really original, is the one reprinted among our fragments. It is not of a pleasing nature, throwing, as it does, a most

[1] P. 173. [2] P. 180.

unfavourable light on Hudson's character. A certain master Colburne (or Colbert, or Coolbrand) was sent out with Hudson on his fourth voyage. Colburne seems to have been attached to the vessel as a kind of official adviser, without any special functions. Hudson soon got tired of this control, and sent Colburne home again. So far the facts are authentic. But Foxe adds that Colburne was a better man than Hudson, and insinuates that it is to the former, not to the latter, that the plan of searching for a passage in latitude 61° was due. This malicious insinuation is devoid of all truth. Abundant proof is still extant that Hudson had, years before, matured the idea here ascribed to Colburne. The name of this sailor is also not otherwise mentioned in the records of maritime discovery, and his having been a man of conspicuous merit thus becomes very doubtful. We can, therefore, hardly hesitate to ascribe Foxe's calumnious insinuations to the desire to depreciate the merits of a great predecessor whom he had vainly tried to outrival; an explanation fully consistent with the character of Foxe, who had all the conceit and self-complacency observable in little minds.

We have now to speak of the most important documents in our collection—Hudson's chart of the fourth voyage, and the explanations added to it by its publisher, Hessel Gerritz.[1] Gerritz belonged to a class of persons, to whom geographical science is very deeply indebted. He was, like the Arrowsmiths, Petermanns, Van der Maelens, and Johnstons of our

[1] Pp. 181-194.

day, a geographer, map maker, and publisher of geographical works. His labours, though few in number, are of the most genial nature. Fixing his eyes on the boundaries of the known world, he followed with enthusiasm the first rays of light that began to penetrate into regions of darkness and mystery. Hudson's chart of the fourth voyage was Gerritz's first publication, and around it grew, in a very remarkable manner, the most interesting of the many collections of voyages and travels printed in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Hudson's chart, of which we give an exact facsimile, was at first published by itself, with a short explanation in Dutch on its back,[1] probably in autumn 1612.

The chart was republished a short time afterwards, as part of a pamphlet in Latin,[2] the first edition of the collection of voyages and travels to which we have alluded. This collection also contained an explanation of the chart, somewhat ampler than the one given at first;[3] and besides this information on the far north-west, it brought before the public Fernandez de Quiros's explorations in the far south, and Massa's account and map of the regions about the mouth of the river Oby in the far north-east. The introduction or *prolegomena* to the pamphlet, which contain some other valuable materials and throw a light on the plan of the work, are reprinted in the appendix to the present volume.[4]

[1] Pp. 181-133.
[2] See appendix, p. 236.
[3] Pp. 185-169.
[4] Pp. 236-242.

The same pamphlet was again issued in 1612, with a new title page, and with some slight changes in the arrangement; but without any additions.

In the same year, 1612, a Dutch edition was published; being in almost every respect a translation from the Latin. The explanation of Hudson's chart[1] is however both corrected and enlarged, and is in several important points at variance with the preceding editions.

Early in the year 1613 a revised Latin edition was published, differing in many important points from its predecessors. A new, and much shorter introduction,[2] took the place of the valuable prolegomena. The explanation of Hudson's chart was translated from the Dutch edition, with important additions and alterations at the end.[3] The voyage of Cornelis Nai to the north-east and north-west, to which allusion is made in the prolegomena to the first edition, is here described in full; the navigator having returned in the interval. Some corrections of doubtful value are also introduced into Massa's map.

The last edition of the work was also published in 1613. It is in every respect identical with the one just described; but contains at the end Peter Plancius's observations on the dispute between the English and Dutch, with regard to the discovery of Spitzbergen. This edition is extremely rare.

The chart published by Gerritz had originally been drawn by Hudson himself. This fact, which is clearly

[1] Pp. 189-193. [2] Appendix, pp. 241-242.
[3] Pp. 193-194.

stated by the publisher,[1] is also borne out by other circumstances. We learn from Pricket that Hudson had drawn a chart of the strait and bay, which the mutineers consulted on their home voyage.[2] The delineation before us is evidently based on acknowledge of the localities; and it contains only such places as Hudson himself had visited. Still it might surprise us that the chart was published in Holland, not in England. This somewhat singular circumstance can, however, be readily explained. Holland was at that time the centre of all geographical research, owing to the impulse given to these studies by the Belgian emigrants. These scholars made ample use of the facilities afforded them by the dispersion of so many friends over all parts of the civilised world. They entertained more especially a lively intercourse with England, as can be seen by a glance thrown on the labours of the most prominent among them. We can thus guess how Hudson's chart was obtained, and we may, perhaps, even be fortunate enough to divine the very channel through which it reached Hessel Gerritz.

The chart seems to have been first sent from England to Peter Plancius, one of the most eminent geographical scholars among the Belgian emigrants, and who was, like the late Sir John Barrow, universally known to take a special interest in the search for a short northern route to China, a subject which he had also been discussing with Hudson himself. Hessel Gerritz's publication was at least made with

[1] P. 194, note 1. [2] Pp. 124 and 126.

the sanction, and, to a certain degree, under the auspices of Peter Plancius; as appears from Plancius's supplement to the last edition, and from many remarks in Gerritz's explanations of the chart.

The delineation which we have before us may seem a poor work to modern eyes, and many persons might think that the engraved copy did not do full justice to the original draught. But when we apply the standard of Hudson's time instead of our own, we find this chart to be far superior to many contemporary productions, and decidedly the *facile princeps* of all the then existing delineations of the arctic regions. The elementary state of geographical science, the imperfections of the instruments, the entire want of any previous data, the fogs, the storms, and the ice of those inhospitable regions, fully explain the unavoidable defects of the work.

The engraving of the chart is very probably by Hessel Gerritz's own hand. The ornamental additions are in the same fine bold style which distinguishes an exquisite and rare engraving representing *walrusses* signed by him. The style in which the chart itself is engraved is not unlike that of Hessel Gerritz's map of Russia in Bleau's great atlas. The fidelity with which most English terms are copied, and, on the other hand, the occasional Batavianisms (such as *hoope* for *hope*, *Yslandt* for *Iceland*, etc.), need, therefore, not surprise us. Our own engraving of this remarkable chart is of course somewhat inferior to the original; but it is nevertheless an exceedingly good copy.

Lucidity of style is not among Gerritz's good points,

as his explanations to Hudson's chart too well show. They are made up from two different elements, neither being presented in the most acceptable shape. The explanations contain, first a summary of Hudson's and Plancius's discussions about the search for a north-western passage in the locality where Hudson afterwards discovered his strait. The account of these conversations seems to be correct in all main points, though somewhat confused in certain details. Far greater, unfortunately, is the confusion which prevails in the other part of Hessel Gerritz's explanations. His account of the voyage is confusion itself. The various versions in the different editions even contradict each other in some important points. The facts in which all the editions agree are of but minor importance. Some of them seem to owe their origin to a reliable source, some to be based on hearsay.

The whole work of Hessel Gerritz has been repeatedly reprinted in Germany. The best known of these counterfeits forms part of the great De Bry collection. It is easy to distinguish, both in the originals and in the reprints, the text of the first from those of the later Latin editions. The following are the most characteristic marks. In the original editions *the date*, 1612 for the first, 1613 for the others; secondly, the greater length of the prolegomena in the first edition, eight pages in one case, two in the other; lastly, a very curious difference. George Weymouth, whose expedition is repeatedly referred to in the explanations to Hudson's chart, is in the first edition called *Winwood*, the name of the English

ambassador at the Hague. This mistake is corrected in the later editions. It is, of course, copied in the reprints.

The last one[1] of our documents is another chart, which serves to illustrate Hudson's two first voyages. It is taken from Pontanus's history of Amsterdam, published in that city in 1611, and illustrated with maps by the publisher, the celebrated Josse, or Jodocus, Hondius, to whom we have repeatedly alluded. Pontanus's work contains in several of its chapters the history of the voyages of the Dutch, and among them an account of Barentz's three expeditions to the north. The present chart is intended to illustrate the third of these voyages; and it would thus seem not to bear special reference to Hudson. Hondius had, however, come in contact with our navigator in 1609, and appears to have obtained from him some details about his two first voyages. The conscientious geographer thought it his duty to introduce this information into his chart of arctic regions, and this chart is therefore almost as much an illustration of Hudson's as of Barentz's voyages. *Colin's Cape*, one of the localities discovered

[1] Besides the printed sources which we have reviewed, there exist some manuscript notices among the documents of the Dutch East India Company. Considerable efforts have been made to obtain fac-similes of these; but as yet without result. We have, however, full reason to hope, that we shall be able to make this important addition to our collection before we finally close it. The printing of the present part of the work could not be any longer delayed; we must therefore review these manuscript documents in another part of our introduction.

in 1607, and the *Banquise*, or continuous icebank, which hindered Hudson's progress to the north, are to be found in no other map or chart, either old or new. The words on this chart, *Glaçies ab H. Hudsono detecta anno* 1608, also contain the first mention publicly made of our navigator.

The appendix to our collection consists of several pieces, not strictly bearing on Hudson's career, but illustrating points of collateral interest. The first of them is Verazzano's voyage along the North American coasts, and his discovery of Hudson's river.[1] This voyage is already well known from Ramusio and Hakluyt. But Verazzano's original letter, preserved in the Magliabecchian library in Florence, has never yet been printed in Europe. It is, however, of great interest, not only on account of the *verve* and freshness prevailing in it, but more especially on account of a valuable appendix, which Ramusio has not given. This appendix is of special importance for our subject, because it restores one of the connecting links in the history of arctic discovery. The reasons which we give for inserting this somewhat extensive document in our collection are not, however, meant as excuses for printing it. It undoubtedly deserves, on its own merits, a place among the collections of the Hakluyt Society, and it will better repay an attentive perusal than any other part of the present volume. We have purposely adopted Professor Cogswell's excellent translation, which preserves in most respects the character of the original. We have also

[1] Pp. 197.

borrowed from him the introduction and the notes by which his translation is accompanied.

The appendix further contains the English translations of two papers which had originally been written in Dutch by the celebrated William Barentz, had then passed into the hands of Peter Plancius, and then into those of Henry Hudson, who got them translated into English.[1] The translations were first in Hakluyt's, then in Purchas's possession. The latter published them, as he says, for Barentz's sake. They are not less important for the biography of our navigator, and furnish some of the few existing materials towards his personal history.

The next piece[2] in our appendix is an extract from Van der Donck, about the wampum or bead money of the Indians, as an illustration to a passage in Juet's Journal, p. 86, note 2.

Then follow, as the concluding pieces, the prolegomena to the first and to the second Latin editions of Hessel Gerritz's work.[3] Of this book we have spoken at sufficient length, and on reference to the papers themselves, it will easily be seen that they are interesting and important.

Having concluded our review of the sources, we now proceed to give a short account of the existing researches respecting Henry Hudson that have come under our notice.

Summaries of our navigator's career are contained in many cyclopædias and biographical handbooks. They generally convey some idea of his purposes and

[1] P. 229. [2] P. 235. [3] Pp. 236, 242.

principal discoveries, but are inexact in their details; being mostly based on a somewhat superficial acquaintance with the documents collected by Purchas, without those preserved by other hands. Of the articles examined by us, those in the *Biographie Universelle* and *Biographia Britannica* are the best. None of them, however, contain anything that can be properly called original research. To the same class of labours belongs also a sketch of Hudson's life, among the collection of biographies edited by Mr. Jared Sparks. This sketch is well written; and one or two other sources, besides those collected by Purchas, have been made use of. We also notice here and there an original observation. But the research is not of sufficient depth to render it useful for a special purpose like ours.

Another class of short biographies of Hudson is contained in general and special works on arctic discovery; such as Adelung, Forster, Barrow, etc. The authors of these works are better acquainted with the arctic regions than the contributors to handbooks of a more general nature. Still, few of them have thought it worth their while to inquire, with anything like diligence, into Hudson's career; and it may perhaps be observed without injustice, that the histories of arctic discovery are all of them somewhat below the present standard of critical research. Little, if anything for our purpose, can be learned from the more general works. They contain rapid, and sometimes even hasty, summaries of the most accessible sources; this being, indeed, the avowed

plan of the best known of these histories, that of Sir John Barrow. It would be unjust to pass the same criticism on Mr. Rundall's *Voyages towards the North-West.* But the purpose of this diligent scholar is more to lay before his readers as yet unknown sources, drawn from archives and libraries, than to indulge in geographical details. His sketch of Hudson's last voyage is, therefore, more an interesting link in a chain of valuable evidence, than an independent production; and we cannot blame the author for its having proved of little advantage for our purpose. It is not Mr. Rundall's fault that he has been unable to find any new documents concerning Hudson's career.

More satisfactory researches are to be found in some works of a more special character. Captain Beechey, in his well-known appendix to his arctic voyage, dwells at some length on Hudson's first and second expeditions. Captain Beechey has used only Playse's description of the first, and Hudson's description of the second voyage, without the other fragments. But he is himself thoroughly acquainted with the localities, and his observations are of very great value. They have often been quoted and extracted by more recent writers.

One passage in Hudson's account of his second voyage has also been examined with much critical acumen by Dr. Beke, in the introduction to his edition of *De Veer.*

None of the four voyages has, however, been more specially investigated and commented upon than the

third, which led to the discovery of Hudson's river. The inhabitants of the United States have, with a most laudable zeal and energy, embraced the task of inquiring into their own antiquities; and the task being in itself of a limited nature, these researches have already been brought to greater completeness than perhaps those concerning any part of the Old World. The State of New York has, in this respect, been both more zealous and more successful than any other. The New York Historical Society, an association formed for this kind of research, has been flourishing for the last half century; and it may look back with pride on its past career. Besides the labours, both at public and at private expense, which the society has encouraged, they have themselves published in their collections many of the most important documents concerning their national history. To these collections we are largely indebted. We have borrowed from them the translations from De Laet, Van der Donck and Lambrechtsen, and Dr. Heckewelder's observations, as well as the original and the translation of Verazzano's letter. The collections also contain a reprint of the chapters in Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, which form pp. 1-138 of our volume; so that by far the greater part of what we have reprinted is also to be found in various places of those American collections.

The collections also contain the first special essay on Hudson's third voyage, written in 1810 by Dr. Miller, a member of the society. This essay is otherwise not very remarkable. Some of its observations

seem, however, to be good, and have been approved of by later American historians, who were, like the author, acquainted with the localities.

Still more light is thrown on Hudson's third voyage by other researches, indirectly connected with the New York Historical Society. The most important of them, at least for our purpose, is the *History of the State of New York*, begun, but never terminated, by Yates and Moulton. This book devotes more than sixty pages to Henry Hudson. The voyage along the American coasts and up and down Hudson's river is investigated with great minuteness; and so little seems in this repect to be left undone, that the more recent American historians have added but little to Yates's and Moulton's researches.

A different kind of importance belongs to the researches made in the European archives by Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead. This gentleman was charged by the government of the State of New York, at the instigation of the Historical Society, to collect in Europe all such documents as might be bearing on the history of the state. The mission was crowned with eminent success. Partly by his own exertions, partly by the liberal and sometimes enthusiastic assistance afforded him by European scholars, Mr. Brodhead was enabled to carry home a most valuable collection of papers. He was, of course, desirous to obtain some MS. documents concerning Henry Hudson; and his almost complete want of success in this respect might lead us to the conclusion that really nothing exists. We must, however, hesitate to take so

gloomy a view of the question. We have already had occasion to observe, that there are distinct traces still extant of papers concerning Hudson; which were preserved in Holland, some in the seventeenth, and some as late as the beginning of the present century. We have also observed, that a long time must elapse before an insight can be obtained into the treasures of the Dutch East India archives. Mr. Brodhead was in this respect still more unfavourably situated than he would have been at the present day. He seems not even to have been acquainted with the Middelburg collection, which was then in private hands and almost forgotten. Still we owe to Mr. Brodhead the knowledge that, at least among the more accessible papers, nothing was to be found, except an entry of a few lines in a ship register.

We are also under another obligation to Mr. Brodhead. He has compiled from the materials collected by him, a work which forms the first volume of a *History of the State of New York*. He there treats of our navigator. Some of his observations are important. But the chief value of the book for our subject consists in a very complete enumeration of the sources for the history of the third voyage.

Between Yates and Moulton's and Brodhead's histories, another work of the same kind made its appearance in New York, under the title *History of New Netherland*, by Dr. O'Callaghan. This book also describes, in about ten pages, Hudson's third voyage. The analysis contains a few original observations. We seize this opportunity for recommending

Dr. O'Callaghan's charming work to those few of our readers who might feel interest enough in Henry Hudson to follow up the subject of his splendid discovery. The history of the banks of Hudson river has here been chronicled, in a manner not the less attractive for being entirely unassuming and natural. The other works on the same subject, though in some respects more exact, are somewhat tedious for persons not specially interested in this matter.

There are also two Dutch treatises on the *History of the State of New York*. We have already spoken at some length of the first of them, and have extracted all the interesting portions of the descriptions of Hudson's voyage. The other one contains very little of any importance for our subject.[1]

We have found no researches of any value for the investigation of the fourth voyage, and have, with regard to this difficult subject, been thrown almost entirely on our own resources.

From the time of Luke Fox down to our days, it has been almost invariably the custom to prefix to every special account of one or more arctic expeditions, a general summary of what had been done by the predecessors of the navigator under review. This custom has been followed as well by autobiographers as by those who have described the voyages of others, whether living or dead; in order to place their heroes

[1] Mr. Ch. Murphy, the United States' Minister at the Hague, has recently issued to his friends a small pamphlet on Henry Hudson; but, to the editor's regret, has declined to afford him a sight either of a printed or a MS. copy.

in their proper light, by showing how much had been achieved before them, and how much new information they added to the old stock. We have, besides, another still more cogent reason to adopt this method. If we fail to do so, some of the most important passages, and often the whole context of the sources which we have collected, would remain obscure. For, Hudson and his companions could, of course, not have been previously acquainted with the real features of the regions among which their explorations lay. Had they been so, their labours would have been superfluous. They entertained, on the contrary, notions which were more or less wide from the truth. These notions, though shared by Hudson's contemporaries, for whom the various journals and logbooks were kept, have long since given way to better knowledge, and have disappeared from the memory of man. Thus the journals and logbooks are, in some respects, as if they were written in an obsolete tongue.

To make them fully understood, we shall have to restore the geographical ideas concerning the north which prevailed in Hudson's time. They were based partly on arctic expeditions, more or less imperfectly known; partly on rumours, which the most ancient of these voyages had engendered; partly on the statements of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and other classic writers; partly even on fantastical and entirely groundless imaginations, that had sprung up during the middle ages. All these elements, singularly mixed as they were, had in some degree been arranged and digested by the geographical critics of

the day, who, unfortunately, however, had but imperfect methods of research at their disposal, and no true standard to guide them.

The object of the following pages will, then, be a double one: first, to assign to Hudson his proper place among arctic navigators, by showing what knowledge he had received from his predecessors, and what he added to the store collected by them; secondly, to define his own geographical notions, as clearly as their nature may allow. For the sake of clearness we shall treat of the two branches of this subject separately; speaking first of the actual achievements of arctic navigators up to Hudson's time, and then of the results which science had drawn from their labours.

In so doing, it cannot be our purpose to give a complete and critical history of arctic exploration up to the year 1607. Our aim simply is, to restore a chain of events, many parts of which are now scattered and scarcely noticed; so as to be able to attach to it, without constraint or violence, the links furnished by the labours of our navigator.

A great part of the arctic shores that have been visited in modern times were already known to the Scandinavians during the middle ages. The exact limits of their discoveries cannot well be ascertained; nor would the present place be fit for such inquiry; but the great influence which these early exploits exercised on more recent navigators, particularly on Hudson, gives them a special claim on our attention. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that the

Scandinavians, sailing from the regions they still inhabit, occupied and colonized Iceland, that they also founded colonies in Greenland, and that steering still farther to the west they reached North America.

These discoveries, and the lasting intercourse to which they gave rise, were materially facilitated by the geographical position of the localities themselves, which seem to form a chain of stages thus placed by nature for the convenience of human exploration. The advantages drawn from these splendid opportunities by the discoverers themselves were, however, but scanty; and mainly so on account of their situation, which both confined them to their own limited resources, and precluded any influence their knowledge might otherwise have exercised on more southern nations. Fear of these northmen's savage energy, the distance and wildness of their home, and chiefly the hostile efforts of the Hanseatic confederacy, whose main purpose it was to oppose them, proved so strong a barrier, that there seemed hardly to exist any bond between them and the rest of Europe.

Thus it happened that a treasury of knowledge the most important existed for centuries in Europe without reaching those nations to whom it would have proved the greatest boon. It cannot, however, be said that this knowledge remained entirely without its effect. The records of these early exploits were carefully kept, and repeatedly translated from one northern tongue into another. The Scandinavians also constructed, from the results they had obtained, geographical systems of their own, which included

Iceland, Greenland, and North America. These records and systems continued to be preserved in Iceland even when Scandinavian navigation had almost ceased to exist. Although we now possess slight fragments only of these important historical documents, we are, nevertheless, enabled to say with perfect certainty, that *even at the end of the fifteenth century* the Scandinavians, at least those in Iceland, had a vivid remembrance of the early achievements, and sufficiently clear notions of the results, that had thus been obtained.

It was not before the middle of the sixteenth century that anything like a distinct knowledge of these important materials reached the more southern nations of Europe. But a number of vague rumours seem to have spread through various channels, and travelled southward, long before that time. Many of the early and rude portolani and of the first geographical works that appeared in print contain indications of Greenland. The extreme vagueness of the information thus derived caused that great arctic continent to be variously drawn on maps, and also its name to be variously spelled. We ought not to lose sight of this important fact; for when the critical geographers in Hudson's time and shortly before him compiled their books, maps, and charts, they were thus led to suppose the existence of several vast arctic tracts, with very similar though not identical names, such as Greenland, Groenland, Groneland, Engroneland, Grocland. Two, sometimes even three, of these appear upon the same maps, in every kind

of shape and position; to the north, north-east, and north-west of Europe. The search for these various, more or less imaginary territories, constitutes one of the characteristic features of early northern voyages. Henry Hudson suffered greatly under these delusions, and contributed to dispel them.

We can, under these circumstances, entertain no doubt that some geographical communications respecting the northern discoveries of the Scandinavians must have reached the south of Europe before the time when the voyages of Columbus, Cabot, and Vasco de Gama opened a new era in the history of maritime explorations. Nor is it quite impossible that the early discoveries of the northern nations exercised some influence on the ideas of the great Italians, Columbus and the Cabots, who discovered, the one the West Indies, the others North America. It is a well known and often discussed fact that Columbus visited Iceland, the great storehouse of Scandinavian information, respecting the north-west, fifteen years before his first voyage across the Atlantic. John Cabot resided for some time in Bristol, a town which then carried on an active trade with Iceland, and which he and his son Sebastian afterwards made their starting place for their expeditions to the north-west. It is further certain that Sebastian Cabot went to North America in 1498 by way of Iceland, and that, some time in his life, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with that country, most probably by personal investigation. Several other indications, on which we cannot here dwell, contri-

bute to make it probable that some connexion existed between the discovery of North America during the middle ages and that which constituted the commencement of the modern era of arctic explorations.

This observation, which an impartial inquiry has led us to make, by no means implies a slur on the memory of the Cabots. Their merits will admit of the most critical investigation; and they would, indeed, shine out more brightly, if the attention which both geographers and historians might profitably bestow upon them were not withheld, partly from neglect, partly from prejudice. However tempting the present opportunity might seem for paying that debt of gratitude, both the nature and the limits of this essay preclude the attempt. It belongs, however, to our subject, to take a short review of the efforts and achievements of the Cabots, the originators of all modern navigation in the north, whose footsteps were implicitly followed by all their successors for more than a century. Henry Hudson himself may, perhaps before all others, be styled a disciple of the Cabots.

The search for a north-western and for a north-eastern way to China, the two schemes upon which all Hudson's energies were engaged, originated with John and Sebastian Cabot. The various efforts made in both directions, from the time of the Cabots down to that of Henry Hudson, will be the main facts for our consideration.

To understand how these schemes of the Cabots arose, it is necessary to realize for a moment the geographical notions prevailing at the end of the fifteenth

century. The geographical dogma of that time recognized one great continent, comprising Europe, Asia, and Africa, and surrounded by sea. This continent, with the *Oceanus* by which it seemed to be encompassed, was believed to form the whole surface of our earth. The earth itself was, by the great majority, thought to be flat; a few only knowing it to be a globe. Of the continent no part had been investigated with anything like the accuracy of modern times. Even the shores that were familiarly known, were most imperfectly delineated on the best maps. This incorrectness grows with the distance, and is often so great as to destroy all resemblance between the supposed and the real outline of the more distant lands. The sources from which these notions were drawn could, indeed, not yield any more accurate knowledge. The systems of cosmography then recognized were almost entirely based on the writings of the ancients, the study of which had recently been resumed. Into these systems such scraps of information were introduced as could be gathered from the accounts of more modern travellers, chiefly Italians, Arabs, and Spanish Jews, with here and there a vague indication of the northern discoveries of the Scandinavians.

Let us imagine a terrestrial globe constructed according to these ideas. We perceive one great mass of land, composed of Europe, Asia, and Africa; Europe very imperfectly, Asia and Africa almost fancifully drawn. All the remaining surface of the globe consists of one vast expanse of water, nearly unbroken,

except by a few islands near the continent. The eastern shores of Asia and the western shores of Europe are separated by nothing but a wide sea.

The records of the intercourse of the ancients with India and China, which were eagerly studied by the eminent men of this age, and still more the accounts of mediæval travellers, especially of Marco Polo, had long fixed the attention of Europe on the east and south-east of Asia. Alexander's march to the furthest boundaries of the known world was a favourite theme of mediæval poetry. The accounts of the civilization, population, and riches of China and Japan, surpassing anything to be found in Europe in Marco Polo's time, shine forth with almost fabulous splendour in the description of his travels. Some of the commodities produced in the far east had from time immemorial formed part of the choicest luxuries of European magnates. The circuitous channels through which alone they could be obtained still further enhanced their value. Most of them were brought by the hands of the Arabs, and the wonderful tales in which these sons of the desert described the glories of the land of spices and emeralds were carried westward, together with the merchandise which formed their theme. Thus everything contributed to make the east and south-east of Asia appear as the very ideal of fairy land.

It is therefore very natural that in some minds the idea arose of crossing the ocean, which alone seemed to separate Europe from these wonderful shores; and we all know how Columbus attempted it and what

he found. The same object was also pursued by the Cabots. But instead of sailing like Columbus through the tropical regions, John and Sebastian Cabot directed their course to the north-west. It would be interesting to ascertain why they adopted this road. The reason which they themselves put forth is sufficient to explain their proceedings. They said that *the nearer to the North Pole the shorter the course would necessarily be.* This reason has been powerful enough to induce so many hardy adventurers to follow in the footsteps of the Cabots; and it must have seemed much more plausible before the existence of the new continent, which blocks up the passage, and before the difficulties and horrors of arctic navigation were known. Still it is not improbable that John Cabot had, during his stay in Bristol, received some hints from the Icelanders who traded to that port. For, having this opportunity to become acquainted with their records, it would be a strange coincidence had he merely by chance trodden in the very footsteps of the ancient Scandinavians. Like them, he reached North America by way of Iceland; and like them, in a region which some Icelandic scholars were, at the very time of his expedition, describing in their geographical manuals.[1]

But even if we suppose Cabot to have been acquainted with the voyages to Vinland, these events did not appear to him in their true light. They did not lead him to surmise the existence of a continent different from the one which contained Europe and

[1] See note A, at the end of the introduction.

Asia. He was as yet completely convinced that nothing but the ocean divided England from China. The fact that the ocean had been crossed, and that land had been discovered on the other side, would simply prove to him that China might be reached by that route. The Cathay of Marco Polo and the vaguely described Vinland of the Scandinavians, would appear to him as identical; and he would conclude, that by following in the footsteps of the Northmen, he must also arrive in Cathay. Stupendous as these mistakes may appear to us, they were natural in a time when the term *latitude* was yet almost unknown, and they form the simplest explanation of John Cabot's first north-western voyage.

Some recently discovered documents serve to dispel part of the obscurity which surrounds the history of the Cabots; so that the main facts of their career may now be stated with tolerable clearness, leaving, however, still several very important points open to doubt. John Cabot, a Venetian *miles auratus*, or gold-spurred knight, resided for some time in Bristol, following mercantile pursuits, like many other Italian gentlemen of that age. He returned to Venice, and, after a long absence from England, we find him again here in 1496.

The country from which he started on his first expedition to America, as well as the date of the discovery, remain uncertain. Sebastian Cabot, John's son and companion, asserts that the expedition took place in 1494, and that land was first seen the 24th of June of that year. It is difficult to conciliate this

statement with some thoroughly reliable details of the Cabots' expedition to America in 1497, which appears in every way as if it had been their *first* voyage of discovery.

Our doubts are still increased by the following fact. The statement to which we allude was made on a large map or planisphere by Sebastian Cabot in 1544 and 1549, when he was an old man, perhaps of feeble memory. This same map was afterwards copied by Clement Adams, a geographer of that time, who was undoubtedly acquainted with Cabot. Adams deliberately alters the date of 1494 into 1497.

Many important questions connected with this first expedition must thus remain in abeyance. Sebastian Cabot has described it in a few lines; and from the description we learn the day of the first landing, and, perhaps, the locality where it took place. Does this really apply to a voyage undertaken in 1494, or must it be referred to the expedition of 1497? Further, under what impressions did John Cabot act when he took out his letters patent in 1496?

Cabot obtained in March 1496, from Henry VII, letters patent for the discovery of new lands, for himself and his sons, Sebastian, Ludovico, and Sanzio. He sailed from Bristol in spring 1497, and returned to England about the 10th of August of the same year. The voyage is described in the following words by the Venetian Pasqualigo, who was in London at the time of Cabot's return.[1]

[1] Extract from a letter written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, son of the late Messer Filippo, dated London, August 23rd, addressed

"This Venetian of ours, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says, that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered 'terra firma,' which is the territory of the Grand Cham; he coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; he saw no human being whatsoever, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares, which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage it is quite certain; and coming back he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious as he was short of provisions. The king is much pleased with this intelligence. He says that the tides are slack, and do not flow as they do here.

"The king has promised that in the spring he shall have ten ships, armed according to his own fancy, and at his request he has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man them with. He has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is a Venetian woman, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, and they call him the great admiral. Vast honour is paid him, and he dresses in silk; and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.

"The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of S. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian; so that our banner has floated very far afield."

This letter is a fit subject for much speculation.

to his brothers, Alvise and Francisco Pasqualigo, in Venice. Received on the 23rd of September, 1497.—*Collections of the Philobiblon Society*, vol. ii.

Only two of the questions to which it gives rise seem, however, to belong to our province. The *country of the Great Chan*, of which Pasqualigo speaks, is the *Cathay* of Rubruquis and Marco Polo, that is to say, northern China. The vague terms in which geographical information was published in the middle ages, had engendered a signal and very momentous mistake. The Cathay of the early travellers was supposed to lie very much further to the north-east than it really does, and densely populated kingdoms were thought to exist in the extreme north-east of Asia, where only some dreary Kamtchadalian village breaks the solitude of a hundred miles of snow. The *Cathay* towards which the Cabots, Verazzano, Willoughby, Frobisher, Barentz, and Hudson directed their efforts was an imaginary country, without any real existence. It is worthy of notice, that the Cabots were thought to have reached that far famed coast. The existence of a continent between Europe and Asia had thus either not yet been understood, or, at least, not yet been publicly acknowledged by them in the year 1497.

On the other hand, it is only fair to observe that the discovery of the new continent, as a real though not yet as an acknowledged fact, must be numbered among the results of the 1497 expedition, unless we are inclined to attribute it to the doubtful one of 1494. It is impossible to sail, as the Cabots did, three hundred leagues along the coast of any part of North America, north of the tropics, without falling in with the terra firma. The vexed question, whether Newfoundland or Labrador was the first land

touched by the Cabots, becomes, therefore, entirely unavailing, as regards the first discovery of the mainland of America, which discovery belongs to the Cabots beyond all doubt and cavil. The controversy that has been carried on with much zeal and some unfairness between the partisans of Columbus and those of John and Sebastian Cabot, may, therefore, at last be set at rest. And this is the more desirable, as the dispute is utterly at variance with the views of those great men. No one was readier than Sebastian Cabot to acknowledge the real and immortal merit of Columbus, namely, that of having first crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Neither Columbus nor Cabot claimed the discovery of America. Columbus never recognised that a new continent had been found, and supposed his own explorations to lie among the islands of Japan. Cabot did discover America, and did recognise the existence of a new continent; but he only considered it as a hateful barrier, which he made lifelong efforts to break through. For that is the aim of his voyages in search of a north-western and of a western passage to Asia.

It seems not to have struck any one of the numerous writers on this topic, that the search for a passage through the new continent is an obvious acknowledgment of its existence. It involves the scientific discovery of the New World. This merit belongs to Sebastian Cabot. He was the first to recognize that a new and unknown continent was lying, as one vast barrier, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia.

Sebastian Cabot's expedition in the year 1498 was

the first voyage in search of a north-west passage. It was performed by Sebastian alone, without the companionship of his father.[1] We possess a certain number of contemporary accounts of this expedition; but all of them very short, and written by men unacquainted with the localities. The fact of the search for a passage, and some minor details of the expedition, are thus rendered perfectly certain, whilst the locality where the search was first made remains doubtful.

The following are the ascertained facts. King Henry VII took an active interest in the expedition, granted a new charter for it, contributed towards its expenses, and was to share in its gains. Cabot was the commander of a small squadron, some Bristol merchants having joined him, and he had three hundred men under his orders. He sailed from England about the beginning of May 1498, and directed his course towards North America by way of Iceland. He then attempted the search for a north-western passage; and having failed in finding it, went southward along the North American coast down to 38° N.

Sebastian Cabot afterwards undertook another voyage in search of a north-west passage, at Henry VIII's expense, either in 1516 or in 1517. The failure of that expedition is ascribed to the faint-heartedness of Cabot's companion, Sir Thomas Perthe. The records of these two voyages are so mixed up, that it is impossible to make out what belongs to the one, what

[1] John Cabot is therefore supposed to have died in 1497 or 1498, a conclusion which is by no means necessary.

to the other. It is, however, tolerably certain that Cabot discovered the two straits, one of which now bears Davis's, the other Hudson's name. The west coast of Davis's strait up to 67° 30′ is figured on Cabot's great planisphere of 1544.[1] The opening of Hudson's strait seems to be indicated on the same map. This strait is besides so minutely described from one of Cabot's charts by Richard Willes, that we cannot for a moment hesitate to attribute that discovery to the originator of the search for a north-western passage. The followiug are Willes' words.

"You may read in his card, drawn with his own hand, that the mouth of the North Western Straight lieth near the 318 meridian (60 Greenwich) between 61 and 64 degrees in the elevation, continuing the same breadth about ten degrees west, where it openeth southerly more and more."

Sebastian Cabot has, therefore, the merit of having not only started an idea which has occupied the efforts of more than three centuries; but of having also indicated the only possible roads for carrying it out. To do more was beyond the means which his time afforded.[2]

Sebastian Cabot started in his old age another idea, which has become almost equally momentous

[1] This fact puts an end to the controversy, as to whether Cabot did or did not reach that high latitude. The observation itself is due to Mr. D'Avezac, the eminent French geographer, who was kind enough to communicate it to the writer of the present pages a few years ago, when examining with him the planisphere of Sebastian Cabot in the Paris library.

[2] See note B, at the end of the introduction, for a statement of the sources from which the account of the Cabots has been drawn.

in the history of arctic discovery—the search for a north-eastern route to China. More than half a century elapsed between the origin of the first and that of the second scheme. For the present we confine ourselves to the history of the search for a north-western passage down to Hudson's time, and shall afterwards take up the history of that north eastern route.

The early expeditions in search of a north-western passage may be divided into two distinct epochs. The aim was identical in both; but the methods were different. All the early navigators who sought for a passage through the new continent wished to break through the unwelcome barrier between the west of Europe and Cathay, and thus to reach Asia by a short road. The difference between the two epochs consists in the amount of knowledge of the real nature of that barrier, which the one and the other possessed. The first attempts may, perhaps, be likened to a blind rush at an obstacle, the extent and difficulties of which were not yet understood. These attempts ended in despair, and in a temporary abandonment of the grand scheme. But they also brought about incidentally, and almost to the regret of those who made them, extensive explorations of the obstacle which would not yield to their efforts; that is to say, of the New World. Some unexpected advantages were also discovered, and led to a regular intercourse with the shores of North America, and by means of these voyages a more accurate knowledge of the North American coasts was obtained.

The systems of geographical criticism were at the same time developed, the various scraps of information were collected, confronted and arranged by industrious scholars, and an immense progress was made in geographical science. The explorers of the second epoch, Frobisher, Davis, Weymouth, Hudson, and his successors, had the labours of Mercator, Ortelius and of other geographers to guide them. They had the means of knowing the real shape of America, at least in all its principal features, and had thus a sound basis for their efforts, and a more confined space towards which to direct them; whilst, to their early predecessors, the very existence of a New World was a startling and unexpected fact. This is the reason for the vaguer aims of one class, and for the more distinct aims of another class of hardy mariners, both of whom deserve in an equal degree our admiration and our gratitude.

The search for a short route from Western Europe to China, belonged naturally to those European states that would most profit by its being discovered; namely, to those bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, to England, France, Spain, and Portugal. Each of these kingdoms took a share in the search for a passage, but the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese only during the first epoch. It is one of the glories of England to have alone persevered in this great undertaking.

The Portuguese were the first nation that followed in Sebastian Cabot's footsteps. Within four years after his expedition of 1498, two Portuguese voyages

to the north-west took place, both under the evident influence of the impulse given by him. The discoveries made by the Cabots in 1497 and 1498 seem to have engendered a vague report that a *terra nova*, a land not to be found on maps and charts, existed somewhere in the north-west. Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese gentlemen of high standing, set out in search of that land towards the end of the year 1500. He returned to Lisbon in October, 1501. But little satisfied with the result of his expedition, he returned again to the North American shores, where he at last met his death. He seems to have been the first of those who were led by the appearance of the mouth of the St. Lawrence river, to mistake it for a passage to the Eastern[1] Ocean. Nothing could be more natural for a man who approached it without previous knowledge. The mouth of the St. Lawrence is nearly one hundred miles wide, and in spite of the great quantity of fresh water which it conveys to the sea, it is almost as much to be called an estuary as the mouth of the Thames. Cortereal's explorations, as far as they can be ascertained from a few vague fragments of intelligence, embrace the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the gulf into which the river falls, with some of the islands within it, and part of the eastern shore of Newfoundland.

The other Portuguese undertaking is in itself less important than Cortereal's voyage: it is, however, a curious event. Three Portuguese gentlemen formed an association for an expedition to the north-west

[1] The Pacific is called the *Eastern Ocean*, by Verazzano.

with some Bristol merchants, probably former companions of Cabot. If such was really their character, they were guilty of much selfishness and ingratitude, which vices were authorized and more than equalled by their king, Henry VII, who granted away to them the very same advantages that had been reserved to the Cabots. The document which illustrates this disgraceful transaction is the only remaining record of the association. This document is as vague as it is fulsome. It appears from it that the associates had a very indistinct idea of the purpose of Sebastian Cabot, that they wished to follow it up, and that the king authorized them thus to rob the noble adventurer of his reward. It is not certain whether an expedition took place or not. Mr. Biddle, the ingenious scholar who has devoted his energies to the investigation of Sebastian Cabot's career, thinks that the associates did send out a ship, which brought home some savages. The question is one of but little interest for our purpose.[1]

Both these expeditions, and chiefly that of Cortereal, are, however, much more important from their influence than by their immediate results. The earliest Portuguese navigators to the north-west seem to have been forcibly struck by the abundance of cod fish in these regions, a fact already noticed by the Cabots. The Portuguese, then perhaps the most active of maritime nations, soon availed themselves of this advantage: they sent frequent, probably

[1] For these two expeditions, see note C, at the end of the introduction.

annual, expeditions to the fisheries of Newfoundland. To facilitate these, they were of course obliged to acquire some knowledge of the coasts to which they repaired; and, step by step, as they had wended their way along the shores of Africa, they now explored the cheerless regions of the north-west. These unpretending efforts have, unfortunately, not been chronicled, their only trace being found on ancient charts. As far as this evidence, and that of some summaries in the early maritime chronicles, goes, we are led to think that the more important results were obtained only in course of time. We shall therefore revert to them at a future page of this inquiry.

The nation that first followed in the wake of the Portuguese was the French. The fishing populations on the coast of Brittany and Normandy, hailing the prospect of a new opening for their industry, directed their course towards Newfoundland, where they made extensive explorations, and established themselves, like their predecessors, as regular visitors. The Basques round the Bay of Biscay, who were accustomed to catch thousands of small whales in their waters, also took part in the advantageous traffic. These voyages, from different parts of what is now the empire of France, began in 1504, and seem to have continued throughout the sixteenth century. It is not clearly stated in the fragmentary records of these voyages, but is far from improbable, that some of them joined the idea of searching for a short way to China to the more practical purpose of fishing for cod. Certain it is, that some of the ear-

liest of the French mariners explored the mouth of the St. Lawrence; perhaps, like Cortereal, deceived by its appearance into the belief that it might be an arm of the sea leading into the Pacific Ocean.[1]

The first French voyage which is plainly recorded to have had the search of a passage for its object, is the celebrated one of Verazzano. What Cadamosto had done for Portugal, Columbus for Spain, John Cabot for England, that Verazzano did for France. He helped, like his three illustrious countrymen, to transfer the sovereignty of the seas from the shores of the Mediterranean to the kingdoms that border the Atlantic Ocean. Verazzano was entrusted by Francis I of France with the command of a squadron of four vessels. Of these he lost two in a gale, and was obliged to put with the remaining ones into a harbour on the coast of Brittany. Having refitted them, he went out again, directing his course to the south, till he reached the Azores. There he again parted from one of his two vessels, keeping only one, the *Dolphin*. This is the craft in which he performed his celebrated voyage. He started on the 17th of January, 1524, from a lonely rock near the island of Madeira.

He has himself stated the purpose of his voyage. "My intention was," says he, "to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such obstacle as it has proved to be, yet did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean."

[1] Note D, at the end of the introduction.

The geography of the New World had already made much progress in the quarter of a century which elapsed between John Cabot's first voyage and that undertaken by Verazzano. Verazzano was aware that he would find a line of coast, nearly, if not entirely unbroken; extending through 120 degrees of latitude, from 66° north to 54° south. By confronting all the available pieces of information he had even arrived at the exaggerated conclusion, that America was of as large extent as Europe, Africa, and Asia taken together. Still he hoped to find a passage through this mighty mass of land, and to reach Cathay in his vessel. His hope, which almost amounted to a conviction, may be traced back to a singular illusion, common to all the followers of Sebastian Cabot, which forms a characteristic feature in the history of the search for a north-west passage.

We have already had occasion to observe that the first acknowledgment of the existence of a new continent, made by any European geographer, consists in the attempt of Sebastian Cabot to break through this *terra nova*. The consciousness that a new continent existed, and the wish to find a passage by which it might be traversed, thus, like twin brothers, owed their origin to the same birth. These two ideas were at their beginning so closely entwined, that they have never since been separated. It became at once, and through all the succeeding development of the geography of America, it has always remained accepted as an axiom, that a passage through this continent existed. The question which science and

enterprise strove to resolve was not *whether* but *where* that passage was to be found. All the successors of Sebastian Cabot acted under this conviction, a conviction which has greatly contributed in producing that wonderful perseverance with which this great undertaking has been followed up through so many centuries, till it has at last, in our days, been crowned with success.

It was thus Verazzano's purpose to ascertain *where* the passage to Cathay might be. He, like Cabot, and like the Portuguese and French seamen, sought it in the north-west, but began his search somewhat further to the south than they had done. He crossed the Atlantic in one of its broadest parts, by an almost due westerly course, which was but slightly deflected to the north; so that the land which he first fell in with was under 34°, being part of the coast of Carolina. There he arrived early in March 1524. He then ascended the coast, spying out for a passage; and thus he reached the mouth of Hudson's river probably at the end of March, or in the beginning of April. He entered this natural harbour, was struck by its capacities, and by the beauty of the surrounding scenery; but was compelled by a sudden squall to leave it in haste. Soon afterwards he entered Narraganset Bay (Rhode Island), where he tarried for some time, holding intercourse with the natives, and exploring the country. Thence he started again, sailing further to the north. He did not enter the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the nature of which was

probably known to him from the reports of French sailors; but steered along the east coast of Newfoundland, up to its most northern point. He then returned to France. The whole voyage, from Madeira to America, then along the coast, and back to Dieppe, lasted but five months and a half; several weeks of which time were spent in Narraganset Bay.

Verazzano described his voyage in a letter to Francis I, king of France, dated Dieppe, July 1524. This letter is well known to the geographical student, from a version of it in Ramusio's collection of voyages, which has been translated by Hakluyt, and inserted both into the *Divers Voyages* and into his greater and more celebrated work. But Ramusio has printed not a faithful copy, but a version of his own. He has embellished and corrected the style of the rough sailor, and thus given the whole piece a new and factitious colouring. He has besides suppressed a very important cosmographical appendix, which throws considerable light, not only on Verazzano's plans, but also on the history of the geography of the New World, and on that of the search for a north-west passage. These have been the reasons for our inserting the original letter in the present volume. The above summary is taken partly from the account of the voyage itself, partly from the appendix, as reference to these papers will show.

The period when the Spanish expeditions to the north-west began is not quite certain. Projects of this kind were entertained by the Spanish court as early as the year 1500. The following passage of

Navarrete contains all that we have been able to find on the subject:—

On the 6th of May, 1500, Ferdinand and Isabella wrote from Seville, that Juan Dorvelos, or Dornelos, should come to court or depute a person, with whom they might agree upon the best means for a voyage of discovery; and we may conjecture (says Navarrete), that the plan was to survey the seas which Sebastian Cabot had just discovered. Better authenticated, however, is the agreement or contract concluded in October, 1511, with Juan de Agramonte, a native of Lerida, for the discovery of the seas of Newfoundland *(Terra Nova)*. He was made captain for this expedition, which was to be undertaken in two Spanish ships, with Spanish sailors; except two pilots, who might be from Brittany or some other country, and should be acquainted with those seas and coasts. We do not know the result of this expedition, which is not mentioned by our historians.

It is also stated, by a doubtful authority, that a Spaniard named Velasco accompanied Aubry, the French seaman who first explored the mouth of the St. Lawrence, in 1508. Certain it is, however, that the wish to find a passage through the new continent occupied the minds of the Spaniards at a very early date. It is a well known fact that Columbus' expedition to the west was, like that of Cabot, originally intended to reach Asia. Columbus, however, believed that the West India Islands which he had found were identical with the Zipangu of Marco Polo, that is to say with Japan; and he was thus induced to think that he had achieved his purpose of reaching Asia. Soon, however, it dawned on the Spaniards, as well as on the rest of Europe, that the West Indies were not

Japan; that Central America was not China; and that to reach Asia by a westerly route, an unexpected obstacle had to be overcome. The Spaniards devoted themselves to this new task with the obstinate energy that characterized them in those days, and they made numerous expeditions both by sea and by land, to find a passage through Central America, but always without result. This want of success doubled their eager desire. The search for a passage became more and more a national concern, in which both Charles V, and Ferdinand Cortez, his great lieutenant, took a most lively interest. A new direction was given to their efforts by a false rumour, that some other nation had found the passage and were keeping it secret. This rumour gained ground at the same time in Spain, and in its American colonies; as is clearly proved by contemporary evidence; and especially by one of the most important geographical documents of the sixteenth century.

The document we allude to is the celebrated *Relatio Quarta* of Ferdinand Cortez, one of the reports which he addressed to the emperor Charles V. It is dated Temixtitan (Mexico), October 18th, 1524, and treats of all the various subjects of local administration on which the viceroy could be expected to address his sovereign. Mention is repeatedly made of the search for a passage, of Cortez' various efforts in that direction, and of their want of the desired result. One entire chapter of the report is devoted to the discussion of a project, from the execution of which Cortez not unreasonably expected the solution

of the whole question. According to a rumour, in which Cortez professes his full belief, a passage leading out of the river Panuco, then trending to the north, through Florida, and reaching the Pacific Ocean in the latitude of the Baccalaos, had been found by some other nation, and was kept a profound secret. Cortez states his intention to send out two expeditions, the one on the Atlantic (Mar del Norte), the other on the Pacific (Mar del Zur), to search along the whole coast, from the straits of Magellan up to the Baccalaos, till they fell in with the passage. The plan seems never to have been acted upon, at least in its original shape. Most of its suggestions were afterwards carried out by the Spaniards, but in isolated efforts, and without that energy which would have marked any enterprise of such a man as Ferdinand Cortez. The reason for his dropping the scheme was simply the want of money.

The same rumour which reached Cortez about the year 1524, had in 1523, or before that year, reached Charles V. "Several geographers," says Herrera, "had assured the king that it would be easy to discover eastern Cathay by a strait between the Atlantic and Pacific;" and from an observation of Peter Martyr, we learn, that this imaginary strait, like the imaginary one of Ferdinand Cortez, was supposed to be situated between *Florida* and *Baccalaos*. In order to understand the events which followed from this rumour, it is desirable to explain what it referred to and how it had arisen. This can be done approximately, though not with the clearness which might be wished

for. *Florida* and *Baccalaos* were both vague terms. The former of them served as a summary designation for the then almost unknown countries of the North American mainland, immediately to the north of the Spanish possessions. Boundary lines are not to be found in the early maps of America, and it is impossible to state where the northern frontier of *Florida* might have been thought to be. All we can say is that the term is seldom, if at all, used for tracts north of 40°. *Baccalaos* originally means codfish. As a geographical designation it was applied to the fishing stations along the northern shores, which alone gave these regions any importance in the eyes of Europeans. *Baccalaos*, as a geographical term, is of a still vaguer nature than that of *Florida*, and may in its widest meaning be said to embrace the coasts from 57° down to 45° N. It is, however, in hardly any case used for any part south of Newfoundland, 48° being in some old geographies expressly mentioned as the southern limit. Under these circumstances it hardly allows of a doubt that the rumour of a strait between Baccalaos and Florida, which circulated both in Spain and in Mexico, had originated in the vain hopes for a passage, which the deceptive appearance of the mouth of the St. Lawrence afforded to the early explorers. It was in conformity with the ideas and habits of those times, that a man's or nation's most positive assertions of want of success in such an endeavour would be the most powerful means of convincing others that they *had* been successful, but desired to keep for themselves all the advantages of an important secret.

One of those who insisted most strongly on the possibility of finding a strait between Baccalaos and Florida, was Estęvan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot in the Spanish service, who had been one of the companions of Magellan, and had gained an unenviable notoriety by the mutinous spirit shown by him during the voyage of the *Victoria*. Gomez, however, enjoyed a good reputation for nautical skill and cosmographical acquirements. He was one of the scientific authorities present at the congress of Badajos and Gelves,[1] which met in 1524 to settle the line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese claims to the newly discovered regions. He must, therefore, have been considered one of the most distinguished cosmographers of the age. Modern historians seem to be disposed to hold Gomez in less high estimation than his contemporaries did. In this respect, they are influenced by a passage in the eighth decade of Peter Martyr's work *De Orbe Novo;* where Gomez' endeavours are spoken of in a sneering and contemptuous manner. But they fail to observe that there is a singular change of language to be observed even in Peter Martyr. In his sixth decade he speaks of Gomez as *artis maritimæ peritus;* whilst in the last decade he says of him, *Inanes hujus boni hominis fore cogitationes existimavi semper et præposui.* So differently did the historian judge of the Portuguese pilot before, and after he had become acquainted with the details of his project. To explain this change, we

[1] The seamen and geographers who attended the congress had personally no voice in the decision, but acted as referees.

shall have recourse to the suggestions of Mr. Biddle, the ingenious scholar, who has done so much to clear up the dark points in Sebastian Cabot's career. Peter Martyr was a friend of Cabot, and he may very naturally have considered Gomez' new scheme as an insult offered to the great navigator, who had in the year 1498 in vain sought for a passage in the locality where the Portuguese pilot was confident to discover it. Howsoever this may be, Peter Martyr's prejudice has to a very considerable extent affected Gomez' fame; so much so, indeed, that most of the early historians have repeated Peter Martyr's sneers, whilst the modern writers have, without a single exception, either omitted Gomez' name from their books or treated his labours with contempt. This treatment is entirely undeserved. Gomez ought to occupy a high place among early explorers, and one of the first among the men connected with the regions with which Hudson's name is associated. He went over much of the ground that Verazzano had explored a few months before him. Both have left charts of their explorations; and that of the Portuguese pilot is infinitely superior to that of the Italian seaman. Verazzano's chart has been preserved merely as a kind of geographical curiosity; whilst that of Gomez has served as the basis for the delineation of the coasts of Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island, on nearly all the maps of the sixteenth, and on some of the seventeenth century. The charts which Hudson himself must have used when exploring the river which bears his name,

contained the mouth of that river and the neighbouring parts laid down from Estevan Gomez's survey.

The expedition of Estevan Gomez has not been described by any modern author. This is not from want of materials; for we know as much of him as of any early navigators who have not left us their own journals.

The following are the principal facts to be gathered from the maritime chronicles of the sixteenth century. Estevan Gomez made his offer to find the passage in the year 1523. In the following year, 1524, he was attending the congress of Badajoz. Sebastian Cabot, who had twice been in the service of England, and had twice left it in disgust, was at that time the pilot-major of Spain, and was also present at the congress. Some kind of discussion of Gomez's plan, must therefore unavoidably have taken place between these two navigators. But we find no trace of Cabot's having either advocated or opposed the plan; and we are inclined to believe that he communicated his private thoughts only to such friends as Peter Martyr. We find it stated that Cabot held out, about this time, great hopes of new discoveries among, or near the Spice Islands; and that this consideration contributed to render Charles V favourable to Gomez's proposals. There were on the other hand two strong reasons for hesitating. First, the opposition of Peter Martyr, who was a much respected and very influential member of the council of the Indies; and secondly the entreaties of the king of Portugal, that the expedition might not

take place. The conference of Badajoz had been held principally for the sake of settling, between Spain and Portugal, the question of the rival claims to the Spice Islands. The king of Portugal seems to have thought, that if a short way to those islands were found by Spain, the temptation would be irresistible; a speculation in which he was perhaps not far wrong. These difficulties having at last been overcome, Gomez was, towards the end of the year 1524, provided with a small caravel of fifty tons burden, fitted out partly at the expense of the king, partly at that of some merchants. Provision was made with regard to the possible profits of the enterprise; any trespass on the king of Portugal's dominions was forbidden; and some other arrangements being made, Gomez then started. He intended to conduct his search not from south to north, as the Spaniards in Central America had been obliged to do; but from north to south. Where he began it, is not certain. According to Oviedo's extracts from an official report on this voyage, Gomez stated that he had made extensive explorations in latitudes 41° and 40°, had become acquainted with the nature of the country, and held intercourse with the natives. Of these he kidnapped as many as his ship would hold; considering them as a good prize, on account of their fine stature. Other navigators had done so before him; and the Spaniards at home seem by that time to have been so well acquainted with the general appearance of the Indians, that they were able to give an opinion on the comparatively fine proportions of those whom Gomez

brought. The chroniclers say that Gomez acted against the emperor's orders. But that monarch seems not to have been very indignant; and the chroniclers cannot refrain from telling, as a very ludicrous affair, a mistake to which this human cargo gave rise. It was reported that Gomez had brought *clavos* (cloves); that is to say, he had reached the Spice Islands by a north-west passage, whilst he had only brought *esclavos* (slaves). Gomez spoke with much enthusiasm of the country which he had visited; and seems to have been fully alive to its natural beauties. Continuing his southern course, he at last reached the West Indies; and thence he sailed home, arriving in Spain ten months after he had left it.

Gomez drew, as we have mentioned, an outline of the coast which he had explored. This outline has been preserved; but not in its original shape. It has been embodied into the celebrated planisphere of Juan Ribero, geographer to Charles V. This memorable work was composed shortly after the congress of Badajoz, to which we have referred, and of which Ribero was a member. There the most illustrious geographers of Spain and Portugal met, to settle the disputes between the two countries that had arisen out of Pope Alexander's famous grant. The outline of America was there fixed for the first time, from the discoveries of both nations. Ribero's chart, which was composed in 1529, (five years after the congress), is not, however, entirely based on materials obtained there; but embraces some more recent discoveries;

such as those of Estevan Gomez. The tract of coast which now belongs to the states of Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island, is on Ribero's chart called *the land of Estevan Gomez.* But the chart does not do full justice to the Portuguese pilot. We learn from the above-mentioned report, that Gomez very correctly placed his discoveries under 40° and 41° N. This is fully borne out by the *localities*, the discovery of which, Ribero ascribes to him; but the *latitudes* in which Ribero places them, are erroneous by several degrees. This fault therefore belongs entirely to Ribero, and in no way to Gomez. The geographer who had to collect and arrange many discordant data, seems to have been influenced by a feeling similar to that of Peter Martyr; and to have sacrificed the Portuguese pilot to some other explorers of less accuracy, but better repute. It is to be hoped that, in dealing thus unfairly with Gomez, Ribero has confined himself to placing the coast-line two degrees two high, without otherwise altering it. But for aught we know to the contrary, he may have introduced other alterations, to produce the harmony required in a general map.

Under these circumstances, it becomes extremely difficult to answer the question which presents itself so naturally to our minds: Did Gomez explore the mouth of Hudson's river? Even the most reliable maps of those days, will give no answer to minute historical questions. We cannot obtain certainties from them, and must be satisfied with probabilities. As far as these probabilities go, we must state it as our conviction,

that Gomez did explore the mouths of the Hudson. He has drawn several rivers, and one of them, with some islands in its wide mouth, is so placed as to correspond with the Hudson. This conviction is shared by Sprengel, the learned German geographer, whose commentary on Ribero's chart has proved of great assistance in this inquiry. "The great river" says Sprengel, "in the neighbourhood of the cape *De Muchas Islas*, seems to be Hudson's river". It was, besides, Gomez's object to search closely along the whole shore, for an opening that might lead to the west; and during the ten months of his voyage, he had ample time to become acquainted, in all its parts, with the easily accessible, and not very extensive, line of coast along which his explorations lay. But whether Gomez did, or did not, enter Hudson's river, it is certain that the later Spanish seamen who followed in his track in after years, were familiar with the river, and called it *Rio de Gamas*; as we shall presently have occasion to observe.

To conclude our observations on Gomez's voyage we must answer another question which also presents itself very naturally to the mind. Verazzano and Gomez went within a few months of each other over precisely the same ground. Did any connection exist between the two voyages? As far as the mere time goes, this would be very probable; because Gomez started several months after Verazzano's return. But all the other circumstances exclude the supposition. France and Spain were at war, and no friendly communication can therefore be supposed to

have existed between them. Besides, had Gomez known that Verazzano had searched those same parts in vain, he would not have been so unwise as to expose himself to the sneers which he incurred by his failure.

Gomez's voyage is the last one in search of a passage undertaken on the eastern side of America by any other nation than the English. The two concluding voyages of the first epoch, and all those of later times, were performed by the English alone.

In the years 1523 to 1527 there seems to have been a general stir in this north-westerly direction. We have spoken of Verazzano, of the rumours that assailed Charles V, of Cortez's plans, of Gomez' voyage, and we shall have still further to notice some other movements of the Spaniards. The English, the nation whose ships had first through storm and ice sought for a passage, were not slow in following this general impulse. Two different symptoms show themselves in the same year 1527. The first is a letter and a discourse which Robert Thorne, the son of one of Cabot's early companions, addressed to Henry VIII, trying to persuade him to engage again in the search for a short northern route to China. Thorne has the merit of having started an entirely new scheme, which has been acted upon only by a few bold mariners, among whom was Henry Hudson, —namely, that of sailing right across the North Pole. This ingenious plan, and the arguments by which Thorne supports his theories, render his discourse a highly curious document.

At the very time when this letter was written, Henry VIII was already interested in a north-western expedition. Two vessels, the *Samson* and *Mary of Guildford*, had been fitted out at the joint expense of the king and some private persons. These vessels sailed in May, 1527. They accomplished nothing, and one of them was probably lost. A remarkable circumstance is connected with the expedition. Verazzano seems to have been their pilot, and to have lost his life in an encounter with the North American Indians.

The last expedition of the first epoch happened nearly ten years afterwards, in 1536. It is very characteristically English. When the search for a passage had been given up by every one else, a lawyer, who had dabbled in cosmography, one Master Hore, took it up; and persuaded a number of young gentlemen of good family, most of them members of the inns of court, to join him in a north-western voyage. The consequences of this freak were even more distressing than might naturally have been expected. The ship's company were reduced to the extremes of famine, and several persons among them went so far as to assassinate their companions, and then to commit some of the very few acts of cannibalism that have ever been proved against Europeans. The voyagers then escaped certain death by a daring act of piracy, from the consequences of which these well-connected gentlemen were afterwards protected by the king's munificent benevolence. Thus ends the first epoch of the search for a north-west passage. Forty years elapsed before the undertaking was resumed.

Before we enter upon that second epoch, we must first speak of some collateral events that occurred in the interval of forty years, and most of which are bearing upon the later efforts in search of a passage, whilst all of them exercised a more or less direct influence on Hudson's doings.

The Portuguese, the French, and the Spaniards, the three nations that had followed in the track of Cabot and of his English companions, and had thus arrived at the northern shores of America in search of a passage to Asia, did not by any means abandon the newly explored regions when they gave up the first purpose by which they had been led towards them. Each of the three nations continued in its own manner the traffic and the explorations which it had begun.

The Portuguese continued their surveys of the northern coasts; most likely for no other purpose than to discover advantageous fisheries. They seem to have advanced slowly, step by step, first along the shores of Newfoundland, then up to the mouth of Hudson's Strait, then through that Strait; and at last into Hudson's Bay. With a certain number of ancient maps, ranging from 1529 to 1570 before us, we can trace this progress step by step. In 1544, the Portuguese seem not yet to have reached the mouth of Hudson's Strait; in 1558, their geographical knowledge extends beyond the mouth of the Strait; and in 1570, they have reached the Bay. Our authorities for all this, are ancient geographical delineations, a source which is sometimes deceptive

when used as historical evidence. A map or chart, the lines of which agree sufficiently with the real shape of the parts laid down in it, is, of course, the best possible proof of those coasts having been discovered before the chart was drawn. But when, on the other hand, we conclude from the *silence* of even an excellent map, that any part not drawn, or badly drawn on it had not yet been discovered, we may be led entirely wrong. Much geographical intelligence was in those days purposely kept secret, and many discoveries may also, by chance, have escaped the attention of the very geographer whose works we may be using. This is indeed so natural, that it occurs quite commonly at the present day. None, perhaps, of our own delineations of distant parts, are entirely based upon the very best surveys that might have been made use of. With regard to the sixteenth century, it is certain that even illustrious geographers sometimes overlooked the discovery of wide regions, the surveys of which were in their reach. We can, therefore, state with the greatest certainty, that Hudson's Bay had been discovered before the publication of Ortelius's atlas, which took place in 1570; but we are not equally certain that the discovery falls within the years 1558 to 1570, because we have only the negative evidence of Diogo Homem's charts to support the latter assertion. The fact itself is, however, probable enough.

We must take this opportunity of adverting to a singular historical misconception, which is to be found

in some of the most current and most respectable hand-books of general information; and which may be traced back to the ill-directed efforts of an ingenious mind. It is stated in Brockhaus' *Conversations Lexicon*, and copied into many of the cyclopædias which place implicit trust in the integrity of that standard work, that Hudson's Bay was discovered by a Dane, named Anskoeld. Now this Dane Anskoeld is a myth, the origin of which may be traced in the following manner. A Polish pilot, named Johannes Kolnus, or John of Kolno, was sent in 1476 by the king of Denmark and Norway on a north-western expedition, to a country which Kolnus called *Grocland*, and which most likely was Groneland, that is to say, Greenland. Kolnus led out a number of emigrants, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, probably to restore the settlements in Greenland, to the entire or partial destruction of which, at the end of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth century, various adverse circumstances had cooperated. The name of *Johannes Kolnus*, as well as the achievements of this Polish worthy, have been singularly disfigured by the geographers of the sixteenth century. Some make his *Grocland* into the most western of all the many Greenlands; and as such it figures on Ortelius' map of the world, where it forms an island in latitude 80° north of Labrador. Sir Humphrey Gilbert places the discoveries farther south. The name is most frequently spelled Scolvus; sometimes *Scolmus*. From this latter shape of the name, and from Sir Humphrey's account of the discoveries, the Dane *Anskoeld* of the

Conversations Lexicon and his discovery of Hudson's Bay had been framed.

The north-westerly voyages of the Spaniards during the interval of forty years, are more momentous even than those of the Portuguese. The Spaniards followed up the idea, indicated by Cortez in 1524, of searching for a passage through America; not from east to west, but from west to east. For that purpose they sent out a whole series of expeditions, none of which, however, reached the high latitude where the north-west passage opens into the Pacific. The Spanish expeditions were thus, like the similar undertakings of other nations, failures as regards their main object. Important results, however, especially surveys of the western coasts up to 45°, were obtained by means of these voyages. On the eastern coast no more voyages in search of a passage were undertaken after the unsuccessful one of Estevan Gomez. Yet this expedition was not allowed to remain without a result. The voyage of Estevan Gomez produced in Spain the same effect which those of the Cabots, of Cortereal, and of the men from Normandy and Brittany had produced in England, Portugal, and France—it conducted the Spaniards to the north-western fisheries. This, at least, is the conclusion which the accurate Navarrete draws from a stock of contemporary evidence. The Spaniards now began to take a large share in this traffic, and to repair regularly to the shoals and sandbanks off *Baccalaos*. These new places of resort were at a moderate distance from their own American colonies. It is therefore

but natural to imagine that the Spaniards sometimes included both points in the same voyage. According to the custom of that age they did not then sail boldly over the broad ocean, but went timidly along the coast. It was in those days one of the principal studies of geographers to point out convenient stages, stations, and tracks for such sailing. This is the main purpose of the so called *Rutters* or *routiers*, regular guide books, which showed the distances from place to place, marked the convenient stations, described the entrances to rivers and harbours. Many of these guide books are still in existence; and we learn from them that the *Rio de Gamas*, the name then regularly applied to the Hudson on the charts of the time, was one of these stages between Newfoundland and the colonies of central America. Nantucket Island also figures in some of these rutters under the name of the "Island of Juan Luis," or "Juan Fernandez," and is recommended as a most convenient stage for those who, coming from Europe, wish to proceed to the West Indies by way of the Bermudas.

The French were yet more active than the Portuguese and Spaniards. They pursued their fishing trade with such energy, that the Newfoundland fisheries, which had always been and still were common ground for the whole civilized world, seemed to belong more specially to them. Most of the banks and stations received French names. The discovery of these regions, which was not then claimed by England on account of the voyages of the Cabots,

was attributed entirely to the French. In the beginning of the seventeenth century that nation was loudly praised for its generosity in having allowed others to share in the Newfoundland fisheries.

Even more remarkable, and conferring much higher honour on the French name, are the North American explorations they made during this period, and their attempts to colonize that vast region. Up to the time of Jaques Cartier, America had been visited and explored only by navigators who considered it as a barrier between Asia and Europe which they wished to force, or by greedy adventurers attracted by its riches. It is with the French that the idea arose of colonizing the fertile wilderness of the north-west without violence to its original inhabitants and owners. To our regret it does not belong to our province to dwell on these efforts. But it is only just to remark, that Cartier, Roberval, Coligny, and the men he sent out to prepare a home for his persecuted brethren, were, in liberality of ideas and in elevation of purpose, more than a century ahead of their contemporaries; and that France may here well claim a title to which she has often pretended with much less right, namely, that of a pioneer in civilization.

In England the influence of the new discoveries, and of the consequent changes in the roads of trade, developed itself with remarkable slowness. Fifty years after the first transatlantic voyages no one would have imagined that this island would be the principal heir to the power and the riches

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which then crowned Europe with an entirely new glory, very different from the gloom of the preceding centuries. The prosperity, the freedom, and the self-reliance of the kingdom went on, however, steadily increasing. Then there came a time when those recent changes in the commerce of the world made themselves felt in a disastrous manner. Most of the English trade had always been in the hands of Germans and Italians, the former of whom enjoyed exorbitant privileges, granted them at a period when it was politic to attract them to this country at any price. These privileges were still more extravagantly interpreted by them. The foreigners were insolent and proud. Yet all this was long borne as a necessary evil. But the new discoveries made the power both of the Hanse and of Italy decline. The Mediterranean, the German Ocean, the Baltic, were no longer *the seas* of Europe, and with the transatlantic commerce rose the power of Spain, Portugal, and of the only one of the older commercial nations that maintained and even increased its medieval prosperity, namely, the Netherlands. Thus it happened that the advantages afforded to England by its connexion with the Hanse were no longer adequate to the sacrifices made for their sake. The English staple articles often remained unsold, or at least did not rise in value in due proportion to the general rise of prices. English shipowners now began to feel that they themselves could do better what the foreigners did so badly, and it required but an opportunity to shake off the hated yoke. The opportunity was offered

to the nation by the return of Sebastian Cabot to this country in 1548. He had been for many years in the service of Charles V, as pilot-major of Spain, and had there, as elsewhere, met with the ingratitude which seems to be the eternal portion of the exile who bestows benefits on the country he makes his temporary home.

His successful efforts to shake off the yoke of the Hanse Towns, and to rescue English commerce, form part of the history of the search for a north-east passage. To that history a separate place in the present introduction has been assigned. We have here noticed these movements on account of their vast influence towards the renewing of the search for a north-west passage, and on the manner in which it was conducted.

The events we have alluded to seem to have so well prepared the minds for a resumption of the search for a north-west passage, that it is impossible to ascertain with whom the idea first arose. Three men, Frobisher, Gilbert, and Willes, entertained it simultaneously. They had each been led to it by a course of similar reflections, based on all the events we have narrated; and it does not appear that these three men had held any communication before each of them had matured the scheme. They were all encouraged by the experience in arctic navigation to which the search for a north-east passage and the establishment and operations of the Moscovia Company had led. They were all acquainted with the geographical labours of the age, based, as far as North America is

concerned, on the explorations of the Cabots, of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the French.

Three different illusions seem besides to have exercised on their minds a much greater influence than all the truth that had come to light during the interval of forty years. The first illusion was based on a map of Clement Adams, an inaccurate copy of Sebastian Cabot's great planisphere; which copy, however, as far as its geographical information went, seems to have been generally considered as representing Sebastian Cabot's own work. We shall have to speak of this remarkable map. For the present it is sufficient to observe, that Sebastian Cabot is there made to indicate a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, beginning in Hudson's Strait; then leading off for a short space through about the same latitude; but soon verging to the south, so as to reach the Pacific in about 40° north. The second and the third delusions were of a similar nature. It seems to have been agreed among map makers that America must be an island; that it could not possibly stretch across the pole, so as to join Asia; and that, therefore, a north-west passage must exist somewhere. This vague idea is expressed, on all the delineations of the globe produced in those days, in that positive form which maps necessarily assume. There is even a certain similarity in the outline and position assigned by various maps to the north-west passage; and, what is most singular, these random guesses are not so far wrong as might have been expected. The third illusion is very characteristic of the age. The Roman Catholic and the

Protestant powers watched each other with the most anxious jealousy. The same jealousy prevailed between the different commercial nations as such. All were eager to find a short way to India. Each of them was aware that the others had searched for it, and they would not believe in each other's ill success. It is thus that rumours sprang up of ships having actually sailed through the north-west passage. The southern nations attributed the feat to the northern, the northern to the southern nations. We find, a few years later, a celebrated Spanish writer asserting that "the great pirate, Drake," had accomplished the feat. Much more effect, however, had a story told by a clever wag, a friar named Urdaneta, who described in full detail a voyage through the north-western strait performed by himself in 1568. He has been rewarded for his impudent audacity with the honours of immortal fame. Not satisfied with these traps laid for him, Gilbert, in his blind eagerness, misinterpreted the lessons of history, and attributed a voyage in search of a north-west passage to "Scolmus the Dane." It would lead us too far were we to indulge any longer in an analysis of the speculations which led to the resumption of the great search. We refer the reader to Hakluyt's Collection, where he will find the treatises of Willes and Gilbert, with other similar materials, and especially the voyages of Martin Frobisher.

It is difficult to speak of these voyages with perfect fairness. Their importance consists much more in the impulse they gave than in what they accomplished.

This has been so well understood by the writers on this topic, that the originality of Martin Frobisher's ideas has been very greatly exaggerated. It was for a long time a fashion to overlook the whole first period of the search for a north-west passage, especially to estimate as low as possible the deserts of John and Sebastian Cabot, and thus to enhance those of Frobisher. The documents which recent researches have brought to light remove for ever this unfair judgment. But we must not at the same time conclude, that the name of Martin Frobisher has to be wiped out from the list of great navigators. The practical renewal of the search for a passage is no ordinary merit. We must also remember that Frobisher had many disadvantages to overcome before he obtained, by the most unwearied industry and the most ardent conviction, the patronage which he afterwards enjoyed. It is a matter of serious congratulation, that he succeeded in bringing all the most eminent interest in the country, political and aristocratic, scientific and commercial, to bear on this enterprise, which thus first received its truly national character. Willes, Gilbert, Stephen Borrough (the celebrated arctic navigator); Dr. John Dee, the official adviser of the Muscovy Company; Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple, the cousin of the historian, Lok, and other special men, assisted Frobisher with geographical information. The queen herself, and still more the Earl and the Countess of Warwick, took a lively interest in the enterprise. Commercial men provided the funds. Gentlemen were eager to join the adventure. In none

of his three expeditions had Frobisher less than three vessels, and in 1571 he had fifteen under his orders. This great, perhaps too great, favour, must be considered as almost a disadvantage for Frobisher personally, though a great advantage for the popularity of his scheme. The vast responsibility, the many eyes that watched his movements, made him more cautious than was desirable for his fame. In arctic explorations at least, much more has been effected by modest than by grand undertakings, by single small vessels than by large fleets.

Frobisher sailed three times to the north-west, in 1576, 1577, and 1578. In 1576 he steered straight across the Atlantic till he came in sight of Greenland. He then passed along the southern and south-western shores of that continent, and again sailing westward, he reached the coast of Labrador. Here he sought for the strait which his charts indicated, and which he at last believed that he had found in 63° 8′. The charts of those regions are still so imperfect, that it is difficult to follow him much further. It seems, however, that he entered an inlet or a strait, proceeded up it for sixty leagues without being land-locked, but at last found himself arrested by ice. It is likely that he soon comprehended, what every intelligent arctic navigator must have felt, namely, that the passage, even should it be found, would prove useless to commerce. Little value was in those days attached to mere geographical discoveries. After the promises he had made, and the hopes he had raised, this conviction must have been very painful for Frobisher.

He was therefore very happy to be able to direct his attention to other objects; the taking possession of those barren regions, the collecting of curiosities. Among them he brought home a stone, glittering like gold, in which greedy eyes, deceived by the love of lucre, believed they saw the promise of rich treasures. The gathering of this ore, which, after all, proved perfectly worthless, was the only object, and almost the only result of his two last voyages. In 1578 he seems, however, by chance to have entered Hudson's Strait; but anxious, in obedience to his instructions, to bring home as much ore as he could, he postponed the search for a passage, and has consequently incurred the blame of writers who looked on these matters from the point of view of the nineteenth century. Frobisher's own contemporaries considered him as a deserving man, and his companions were most truly attached to him.

These voyages were singularly unfortunate in confirming prevailing geographical mistakes, as we shall have to notice. They also added their own new store of error in different ways. The situation of the country discovered by Frobisher, and that of his strait, were so imperfectly indicated by those who described the voyages, that geographers became perfectly bewildered. In the chart which Hudson used, Frobisher's Strait lies across Greenland, not in America. These singular doubts have exercised their influence even up to the present day; as for example, upon Karl von Spruner, the author of the *Historical Atlas*. They have, however, no foundation in fact; and the real locality

of Frobisher's Strait is certainly where modern maps place it. Another mistake, which caused Hudson some useless pains, is due, in the first instance, to one of Frobisher's ships, that sailed home by itself, the *Busse of Bridgewater*. An immense ice field seems to have floated out of Davis' Strait down to latitude 57°. The excited fancy of a passenger on board the vessel mistook it for an island, and the island soon found its place on maps and charts, under the name of Busse Island. Hudson searched for it with little success, as may be imagined. The small hurt these mistakes could do was, however, entirely outbalanced by the beneficial influence of the correct information Frobisher brought home. It was now certain, that between 62° and 63°, on the eastern side of North America, a wide entrance existed, navigable for hundreds of miles. True, that passage was sometimes blocked up by ice. But this had not yet been ascertained to be its almost permanent state. A still broader and more navigable entrance had been found between 60° and 62°. Some of Frobisher's companions even recognized the great fact, that the reputed mainland of Labrador, between 61° and 63°, was merely a mass of islands, separated by channels, some broad, some narrow, which led to unknown seas in the west. This information was more than sufficient to raise the most lively hopes of a through passage, and the most ardent aspirations towards its discovery, especially in an age that may well be said to have given birth to the buoyancy and elasticity of spirit by which the English nation has since become so great.

The required expenditure, vast for the times, alone prevented the track from being followed up at once. Frobisher himself made efforts to obtain the necessary means, and was nearly successful, owing especially to the interest which the great Francis Drake took in the enterprise. This admirable seaman offered to tax to the utmost his already shaken credit, and to raise a thousand pounds for the expedition. More than five thousand were expected from various other noblemen and gentlemen, of which three thousand from the famous Earl of Leicester. But the enterprise came to nought, because it had been projected on too large a scale. It is mentioned for the last time in 1581.

Equally without result were, as it seems, the endeavours of Adrian Gylbert, to whom letters-patent for the search of a north-west passage were granted in February 1583. He does not appear to have started for his destination.

It was reserved for John Davis, one of the greatest of navigators, to follow up and develope the vague indications of Frobisher. Master John Davis sailed from Dartmouth the 7th of June, 1585, with two small vessels, the *Sunshine*, of fifty tons, the *Moonshine*, of thirty-five. His course was north-west. He expected to find no land before he reached America. But to his surprise he struck the south-eastern coast of Greenland, between 60° and 61°, the 20th of July. We shall have occasion to dwell on the singular misconceptions which prevailed at the time with regard to that great arctic continent. These misconceptions,

the growth of centuries, formed a curious mixture of truth and error; and Frobisher had lately contributed to them his own large share of mistakes. Davis was justified in thinking that the land he had fallen in with had been hitherto unknown, and was his own new discovery. After a short hesitation on the south-eastern side of Greenland, he rounded the southern point on the 23rd of July, and then sailed for two more days up along the south-western coast. To these southern parts of Greenland he gave the graphic name of *Desolation*, a name now attached to a small portion only of those shores. On the 25th he left the newly discovered country, and steered his former course to the north-west, thus unconsciously following the bend of the Greenland coast, which he had lost sight of. After four days sail, the 29th of July he was again in sight of land, under 64° 15′. His course had brought him to the jutting point which forms the northern boundary of Gilbert's Sound. That is now the least unknown portion of Greenland. Gilbert's Sound is a large and fair bay, enclosing many islands, and here among the snow and ice of the high north some sunny nook may greet the eye of the weary sailor. The Danish settlement of Godhab, and the Moravian colony of Nye Hernhut, are situated in these parts. They have been visited by several recent navigators, especially by Captain M'Clintock, and their names are now familiar to the ear. Here Davis held intercourse with the Esquimaux, and it is delightful to read how he employed the sweet medium of music to gain their friendship. Davis left Gilbert's Sound the 1st

of August, having tarried two days. He again steered his former course to the north-west, and thus crossed for the first time the strait that now bears his name. Only five days sail brought him to the American side, which he reached in latitude 66° 40′ the 6th of August. He had arrived in the neighbourhood of that remarkable promontory, by him named Cape Walsingham, where the American coast makes so sudden a turn to the north-west. Not finding an inlet by which he might follow a western course and reach the Pacific, he coasted on the American side southward, in quest, probably, of Frobisher's Strait, which he must have expected to find in latitude 63° 8′, three degrees and a half further south. But before he reached that inlet he fell in with another more northern opening, named by him Cumberland Strait, and which seemed to offer a good chance of a passage. He arrived at the mouth of that strait the 11th of August, and having explored it for six days, he met with a cluster of islands, "with many fair sounds between," and concluded by an admirable course of reasoning that the strait does lead to the Pacific. His opinion has not yet been disproved, and further exploration may show it to have been correct. The charts of those regions are still in the highest degree unsatisfactory. We know as little as the first discoverers did, whether Frobisher's and Cumberland's Straits do or do not communicate with the more western waters. In bare justice to those great men, the information which intelligent whalers must have gained in that long

interval might be collected and inserted in the Admiralty charts. After so much has been done for the higher regions, something might be done for the west of Davis' Strait, and for the channels that lead into it. "There are many intelligent whaling captains," says Captain M'Clintock, "who possess much valuable knowledge of these lands and seas; and even in the terra incognita of Frobisher's Straits whalers have wintered, whilst our charts scarcely afford even a vague idea of the configuration of these extensive islands... A surveying vessel would be usefully employed for a couple of summers in tracing the general outline of these possessions of Her Majesty." Davis sailed homewards the 24th of August. He brought his two frail barks safely home the 30th of September, 1585.

Davis sailed again the 7th of May, 1586. He had with him four vessels, the *Sunshine* and *Moonshine*, which he had the year before; the *Meermaid*, a vessel of a hundred tons; and the *North Star*, a pinnace of ten tons burden. The 7th of May he was south of Iceland in 60°, and despatched the *Sunshine* and *North Star* to search between Greenland and Iceland. He himself proceeded westward with the *Meermaid* and *Moonshine*, and reached the south of Greenland the 15th of June. But he had arrived too early in the season. A huge mass of ice encumbered the Greenland shore. To round it he had to stand out of the strait, and to sail as far south as 57°. The ice, at present also, often forms regular fields and packs out of Davis' Strait, such as he encountered in

the beginning, and the *Busse*, of Bridgewater, met with at the end of summer, in latitude 57°. Having rounded the pack, Davis reached Gilbert's Sound the 29th of June. Stormy weather, and the wish to become thoroughly acquainted with the country, detained him till the middle of the month of July. The 17th we meet him again at sea, not far from Gilbert's Sound, but a little to the south, in 63° 8′. Davis had now to encounter a new and a fiercer struggle with the pack. A fortnight's sail carried him only a few degrees farther north and a very small distance farther west. Many of the sailors in his larger vessel had probably never seen the arctic regions before. Their courage fell, and at last Davis met with that obstacle, worse than storm and ice, a mutiny among his crew. Subdued by his imposing presence, his sailors did not break out into the excesses which troubled Weymouth and cost Hudson his life; but they represented in earnest language that "he might not, through his over-boldness, leave their widows and little children to give him bitter curses." He obeyed, and after little more than one day's south-eastern sail he reached land on the Greenland shore, in latitude 66° 33′, the 1st of August. He was now constrained to send the *Meermaid* home, the crew being unwilling to encounter any longer the dangers of navigation among the ice, which are appalling enough even for those who have spent many years in those regions, and whose vessels are specially fitted for this dangerous navigation by every contrivance that ingenuity can invent. But Davis

was not shaken in his purpose. He now entrusted himself to the *Moonshine*, more a fishing smack than a ship. A few days were spent in preparing her for her arduous task, and the 5th she started by herself. She crossed the strait in nearly a due westerly direction. The 14th of August she was near Cape Walsingham, in latitude 66° 19′, on the American side. It was too late for anything more than a summary search along the coast. The rest of the month, and the first days of September, were spent in that search. Besides the already known openings, namely, Cumberland Strait, Frobisher's Strait, and Hudson's Strait, two more openings were found, *Davis' Inlet* in 56°, and *Ivuctoke Inlet* in 54° 30′. Davis now had to cross the Atlantic in his miserable craft, and he performed the voyage through the equinoctial gales in little more than three weeks. He reached England again in the beginning of October, 1586.

The 19th of June, 1587, Davis began his third north-western voyage with three vessels, one of which was the *Sunshine*, always his faithful companion. He had besides brought out, in frame, a pinnace, intended for exploration in shallow water. After he had reached Gilbert's Sound, the 16th of June, he was about to set up the pinnace, when the Esquimaux of the neighbourhood, seeing the many fine pieces of iron which were used as nails and spikes, could not resist the temptation of tearing the whole fabric to pieces to obtain those treasures. This singular race exhibited from the very first the same characteristics which have now become so familiar to

arctic explorers. The cheerfulness and good nature of the Esquimaux are praised by those who first came in contact with them, and some of these early mariners put these qualities in contrast with the fierceness and the gloom of the Indian warriors. Still such depredations as those here noted too often occur, proving that low standard of morality which belongs to the savage. These occurrences, and the partial restoration of the pinnace, delayed Davis till the 21st of June. From that day to the 30th of the same month he sailed to the north along the Greenland shore, and arrived on the 30th of June, 1587, in latitude 72° 12′, nearly four degrees farther north than any one had been before him in that sea. He found to the north "no ice, but a great sea, free, large, very salt and very blue," and "it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment toward the north." Northern gales and the wish to proceed to the west prevented his sailing farther in this northern direction, or he would have forestalled some of his most distinguished followers. Baffin's Bay would now bear the name of John Davis. A few days before, when he was off the Greenland coast in latitude 67°, he believed that he saw the American shore. But he was evidently deceived. The distance is two hundred miles, and the feat is impossible. None of the phenomena of the arctic regions can render it likely. What Davis really saw was the almost solid ice field, with which he had soon to engage in a most desperate struggle. He never reached the latitude of 67° on the American side, and

was therefore unable to correct his mistake. To this mistake Davis' *Strait* probably owes its name—a name singularly inappropriate for a passage of such immense width. Davis now tried to sail westward without giving up the high latitude he had reached. But this proved impossible. He met with the eternal enemy of arctic exploration, the ice. In spite of this obstacle he advanced, on the 1st of July, forty-four miles in nearly a western direction, deflecting but slightly to the south. But he was obliged to give up that advantage. Westerly and north-westerly winds drove the ice straight against him. He had to retreat to the Greenland coast. The 13th of July he was in about the same place as he had been sixteen or seventeen days before, in latitude 67° 50′, off Greenland. Now he found the sea sufficiently open to proceed at least in a south-westerly direction. He crossed the strait in five days, from the 14th to the 17th of July. On the 17th he was off the American shore, in latitude 65° 30′. Remaining in that neighbourhood he reached, the 19th, Mount Raleigh, the 20th, the mouth of Cumberland Strait. From the 20th to the 23rd he explored Cumberland Strait, hoping to find there the passage. But he met with a solid barrier of ice, and had to return. This voyage out of the strait was partly impeded by calms, and required six more days, to the 29th of July. They now sailed to the south, along the American side of Davis' Strait, and passed the 30th across the mouth of Frobisher's Strait, the 31st of July and the 1st of August across the mouth of Hudson's Strait. "Which inlet

or gulfe this afternoone (31st) and in the night (31st —1st of August) we passed over, where, to our great admiration, we saw the sea falling down into the gulfe with a mighty overfall and roaring, and with divers circular motions like whirlpools, in such sort as forcible streams pass through the arches of bridges." His further progress down to 52° 40′ offers no new geographical interest. Davis reached home the 15th of September, 1587.

After his return he expressed the liveliest hope of finding a passage to the north, beyond the latitude of 73°. But the attack of the Armada in 1588, and the death of Walsingham, which occurred soon afterwards, deprived him of the opportunity to follow up his discoveries.

Davis' journals are the only ones of all those left by early north-western explorers, where, with a little attention, every point can be clearly made out. Had they, like the confused descriptions of Frobisher's voyages, been published immediately after the navigator's return, he would soon have found a successor. They appeared in print in 1599, and in 1601 George Weymouth offered to the East India Company to undertake for them a north western expedition. So confident was he of success, that in case of failure he waived all claim to pay or remuneration.

Weymouth sailed the 2nd of May, 1602. He reached the south of Greenland the 18th of June, crossed Davis' Strait in a westerly and north-westerly direction, and arrived the 28th off the American shore, in latitude 63° 53′. Weymouth now sailed to

the north, hoping to find the open water indicated by Davis, and resolved to winter between 68° and 70° should it be required. He had arrived in latitude 68° 53′, when a mutiny broke out among his crew, who refused to advance any further. Weymouth had committed the mistake of accepting the companionship of a clergyman named John Cartwright, who possessed the reputation of being familiar with geographical matters, and who gained great influence over the crew. The presumption and cowardice of this man have blighted Weymouth's fame. Unable to proceed as he judged best, Weymouth had to retrace his steps. The 25th of July he arrived at Hatton's Headland, in 61° 40′, the northern entrance to Hudson's Bay. According to his own words, he sailed "an hundred leagues west and by south" into the strait. There must be either a slight exaggeration in the distance, or the statement as regards the course must be slightly incorrect. The latter is, indeed, the case; this the journal clearly shows. But there is no reason to pass on Weymouth the severe verdict, *that he pretends to have done a thing which is impossible;* a verdict first pronounced by Fox, whose acquaintance with the south of Hudson's Strait was very imperfect; then confirmed by Sir John Barrow, who probably did not take the trouble to look into a map, and then repeated by others. That Weymouth really sailed a considerable distance into Hudson's Strait does not allow of a doubt, nor is it doubtful that he "lighted Hudson into the strait," as Fox, with greater justice, expresses it. Weymouth's later proceedings are not of any geographical interest.

After Weymouth, and before Hudson, only one more voyage in search of a north-west passage was undertaken. It was performed by John Knight, in 1606. It led to no result whatever.

We have now to go back a period of more than half a century, and to speak of the opening and progress of the search for a north-east passage, down to the time when Hudson was engaged in the realization of this idea. We have already repeatedly had occasion to allude to this matter, and especially to point out the principal circumstances which afforded Sebastian Cabot the opportunity again to exert himself in behalf of English commerce. On a former page of the present introduction we have narrated the first events in Sebastian Cabot's life. There we left him. It will, perhaps, be best to give in a few lines a summary of his career, until he finally fixed his residence in England. We have seen that he arrived in this country with his father; that in 1497 he found North America; that in 1498 he began the search for a north-west passage, and probably discovered Hudson's Strait. From 1498 to 1512 his movements are uncertain. In 1512 he entered the Spanish service, became a member of the Council of the Indies, and was to undertake voyages for the Spaniards. Preparations were made for an expedition in spring 1516. But the political changes which took place at the time prevented it, and Cabot again went to England. He undertook a second voyage in search of a north-west passage, probably in 1517, and then discovered Davis' Strait, up

to 67° 30′. After his return Cardinal Wolsey wished to employ him. The negociations led to nothing, and he again returned to Spain, resuming his old dignity and becoming in addition pilot-major. In 1523, tired as it seems of the Spanish service, he secretly made overtures to Venice. Though very anxious to serve that city, which he considered as his home, insurmountable difficulties prevented his doing so, and he remained the pilot-major of Spain. In 1526 he undertook, for the Spanish crown, an expedition to the Moluccas; but he only reached the La Plata river, where he remained for five years exploring the surrounding country. From 1531 to his final return to England, no voyages of his are on record, nor does he seem to have performed any during that time. In 1548 he arrived in England. Edward VI, a prince of great promise, who, in spite of his youth, fully comprehended that England, to become a great power, must have its fair portion of the world's commerce, very gladly received Sebastian Cabot into his service and granted him a salary, liberal for those days, of £166.

When Cabot, in 1522 and 1523, made overtures to the Venetian government, it was his intention to point out to them what he then believed to be by far the most advantageous route to the Indies. All the roads to India which are followed at the present day were then considered the special properties of Spain and Portugal; and these two powers, the most commanding in Europe, had the means and the will to defend that property. The scheme of the north-west

passage had probably been given up by Cabot as hopeless, at least in a commercial point of view. But there yet remained one chance of a short way to eastern Asia, namely, by the north-east. Even now, knowing, as we do, the great northern elevation of the coast of Siberia, the shortest line across sea that we could draw from any part of Europe to China would pass by Nova Zembla, and would lead us to the north-east. But those north-eastern parts were absolutely unknown to Cabot. Misinterpreting some passages in Pliny, Cornelius Nepos, and other ancient writers, then the only available sources of information with regard to the north-east, Sebastian Cabot concluded the distance from Europe to China by that route to be much shorter than it really is. He was, moreover, convinced that the north-eastern seas were not only navigable, but had, in fact, been navigated by the ancients. On these erroneous assumptions, he founded the plan of searching for a route to China by the north-east. His wish thus to benefit Venice remained, however, a *pium desiderium*. The Venetian ambassador Contarini, with whom he entered into negociations, plainly told him that Venice could not venture to make opposition to the Spanish and Portuguese commerce, because these powers commanded the Strait of Gibraltar, and could prevent both the departure and the return of the Venetian vessels should they attempt any such undertaking. Cabot, therefore, stored up the idea in his mind. It was after his return to England that the necessities of English commerce, which we have

already described, offered him an opportunity of carrying out his favourite plan: if not for Venice, at least for a country which he viewed with less repugnance than he must have harboured towards Spain.

The commercial association to which his scheme gave rise, that of the Merchant Adventurers, has passed through a most brilliant career and is still in existence. Their earliest proceedings, and those of the Dutch who followed them, have met with more attention from geographical scholars than perhaps any other similar subject has done. We possess especially two excellent works, one by Dr. Von Hamel, the other by Dr. Beke: the latter among the collections of the Hakluyt Society. There is now hardly left room for any new investigations. It will therefore be easy for us to do what we shall attempt in the next few pages, namely, to point out how the way which Hudson followed in his first voyages had been prepared by his predecessors.

The first north-eastern expedition which was sent out by the Company of Merchant Adventurers sailed from Ratcliff, the 10th of May, 1553. It consisted of three ships, all with equally auspicious names, the *Bona Esperanza*, *Bona Confidentia*, and *Edward Bonaventure*. But the names of the two first ships were sadly to be belied. Sir Hugh Willoughby, captain-general of the fleet, was driven with these two ships far out to sea, and at length put into a small haven on the coast of Lapland, near the mouth of the river Warsina, where the entire crews of both

vessels, amounting in all to seventy souls, perished from cold and hunger.

Before meeting with his untimely end, Willoughby, on the 14th of August, "descried land, which land (he says in a note found written in one of the two ships) we bore with all, hoising out our boat to discover what land it might be; and the boat could not come to land, the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitations; and this land lyeth from Seynam east and by north 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the northward." Dr. Beke, whom we have literally followed in this description of Willoughby's voyage, goes on to show that the land discovered by Willoughby was a part of Nova Zembla, now called the *Goose Coast*. For a long time English geographers contended that Willoughby had discovered Spitzbergen. This most indefensible theory has found its way into Purchas' notes to Hudson's voyages. We shall speak of its origin in our geographical review.

Richard Chancellor, pilot-major of Willoughby's fleet, was far more fortunate than his hapless chief. In the third vessel, the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Stephen Burrough, he succeeded in entering the Bay of St. Nicholas, since better known as the White Sea, and on the 24th of August, 1553, reached in safety the western mouth of the Dwina, whence he proceeded overland to the court of the Emperor of Muscovy. The result was the foundation of the commercial and political relations between England and

Russia, which have subsisted with but brief interruptions up to the present day.

Shortly after Chancellor had brought his section of Willoughby's expedition to so successful an issue, the Company of Merchant Adventurers, by whom the three ships had been fitted out, received a charter of incorporation, bearing date February 6th, 1 and 2 Ph. and Mar. (1554-1555); and subsequently, in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (1566), they obtained an act of Parliament, in which they are styled "the Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades," a title under which they still continue incorporated, though they are better known by the designation of the "Muscovy" or "Russia Company."

It is not here the place to discuss the general proceedings of the Russia Company, important though they be, and highly deserving of being made the subject of special investigation All that we have to do is to notice the expeditions which were undertaken under the auspices of that company, for the purpose of exploring the seas bounding the Russian empire on the north, with a view to the discovery of a north-east passage to China.

Of these expeditions, the first was that of Stephen Burrough, who had, in 1555, been the master of Richard Chancellor's ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and who was, in 1556, dispatched in the pinnace *Searchthrift*, to make discovery towards the river Ob.

Dr. Beke, whom we have again literally followed for the whole of the preceding page, now goes on to describe in detail the voyage of the *Searchthrift*. But

this expedition is of much less importance for our subject than for his. The following summary is sufficient for our purpose. Burrough left Gravesend the 23rd of April, passed the North Cape the 23rd of May, reached Kola the 9th of June; and then proceeded, in company with some native boats, to explore Nova Zembla. For the sake of greater clearness, it is, perhaps, best to observe, that Nova Zembla, or Novaya Zemlya, is a group of islands in shape of a crescent. The crescent has on its outer (western) side the Spitzbergen Sea, on its inner (eastern) side the Sea of Kara, and forms the boundary between those two seas. The southern end of the crescent bends towards the mouth of the river Petchora. The northern extremity points towards Cape Taimyr. This northern extremity is in latitude 77°, and in nearly the same longitude with the mouth of the river Oby. The Nova Zembla group consists of four larger and several smaller islands. The names of the larger ones are, according to Dr. Beke's nomenclature, Vaigats for the most southern,[1] Novaya Zemlya Proper for the next, Matthew's Land for the following, and Lütke and Barents' Land for the most northern. These islands are separated from each other by straits, more or less narrow. The exploration of the islands, and the discovery of the straits between them, is the principal point of interest in most of the early north-eastern voyages; for the Nova Zembla group forms a natural barrier

[1] Dr. Beke does not consider Vaigats as part of Nova Zembla, but Mr. Scoresby does.

upon which the navigator must strike when he wishes to penetrate to China by a north-easterly route, and his first efforts must be towards the crossing of this barrier. All the seamen of whom we have to speak were obliged to make that attempt. The first of them, Willoughby, merely touched Nova Zembla. Others, like Brunel and Hudson, made useless efforts to penetrate through frozen straits and bays, and then returned. The most successful navigators discovered the open passages between the islands, and the boldest of all, William Barents, sailed along the western side of the whole group, rounded its northern point, and wintered on the north-eastern shore. But even those who were fortunate enough to penetrate beyond Nova Zembla and into the Sea of Kara, made afterwards but little progress. That sea is, by Polar currents, continually filled with close packed ice. Only two or three ships are known to have penetrated through it and to have reached the mouth of the Oby. The Russians themselves, though at home in those waters, and of notorious courage and experience in this kind of navigation, have as yet been unable to explore the whole east coast of Nova Zembla.

Stephen Burrough's north-eastern explorations began, as we have said, the 9th of June, 1556. Nothing memorable happened to him before the 25th of July, when he discovered a small island between the mainland of Russia, and Vaigats, the most southern of the four larger Nova Zembla islands. His new discovery was called St. James's Island. Then sailing to the north, he found Vaigats the 31st of July. He coasted

along the western side of Vaigats, and the 3rd of August he reached its northern point. The 4th, he sailed through the strait between Vaigats and Nova Zembla Proper, which is therefore called Burrough's Strait. He had now entered the Kara Sea. But there his success ended. He could not advance against the ice, and had to return the 5th of August, 1556. He arrived at Archangel the 11th of September, 1556.

A long time elapsed before the search was renewed. The Muscovy Company had so unexpected a success in the country they were trading with, that they found full employment and a satisfactory reward for their labours. Their agents also learned in Russia that an overland route to China existed, and carefully noted down its different stages and stations. All this diverted their minds from the purpose for which the company had originally been established. Still the search for a north-east passage was not entirely given up. In 1568 a commission was issued to three servants of the company who were then in Russia, Bassendine, Woodcock, and Browne, to search to the east and to the west of Nova Zembla. Nothing is known of the success of this expedition, nor even whether it started. Twelve years elapsed before the next expedition was undertaken of which we have any record.

The 31st of May, 1580, Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, two captains in the service of the Muscovy Company, started from Harwich, in two small barks, of forty and twenty tons burden. Having sailed together as far as Wardhuus (Lapland coast), Pet and

Jackman separated the 24th of June, appointing the island of Vaigats as their meeting place. Pet reached, on the 4th of July, Nova Zembla Proper, in latitude 71° 38′. He then sailed to the south, and was, on the 10th of July, off Vaigats Island. There he remained till the 14th. He then tried for a passage by the north of Vaigats, but failed to discover the strait which Burrough had found. He now steered to the south-west, and reached the mouth of the Petchora on the 17th. Thence he started again to the east. He kept close to the Russian shore, and discovered the strait between Vaigats and the mainland, which is therefore called Pet Strait. The 19th of July, Pet was in the Kara Sea. But the pack was again as close as it had been in Burrough's time, and it was impossible to move through it. After five days of vain struggle with that obstinate enemy, Pet was joined by his companion, Jackman, who had also found his way into the Sea of Kara. The two barks, of forty and twenty tons, now united their efforts, and tried to force their way onward to China. Three more days were spent in this vain labour. On the 28th of July Pet and Jackman resolved to return to Vaigats, and then to deliberate on their future proceedings. But they were now in the middle of the pack, some of the floes of which were so large that their boundary could not be seen. It required the unremitting labours of seventeen anxious days to carry them back the small distance they had advanced into the Sea of Kara. They reached Vaigats on the 15th of August, and had passed back through Pet Strait by the 20th

of the same month. Pet reached home on the 26th of December. Jackman wintered in Norway, and perished on his homeward voyage the following spring.

This is the last well authenticated English voyage in search of a north-east passage, anterior to those of Hudson in 1607 and 1608. There is, however, strong reason to believe, that before the year 1584 an English vessel actually sailed through the Kara Sea and reached the mouth of the Oby, where she suffered shipwreck. The crew are said to have been slain by the natives, who thought them to be robbers. The agents of the Muscovy Company also obtained some extremely interesting information with regard to the routes usually followed by the Russians from the Petchora to the Oby, both along the Russian shore and across Nova Zembla; and their hope of a passage was maintained, in spite of repeated failures.

No actual attempt of theirs is, however, on record, between 1584 and 1607. But almost at the very time when the long lapse of their efforts in this direction begins, another nation appears on the scene, namely, the Dutch. This nation was destined to be, for two hundred years, the rival of England's maritime power, and their rivalry first began in the frozen seas off Nova Zembla. The explorations which they made there at the end of the sixteenth century are still, and very justly, reckoned among the national glories of the Dutch. Other nations have not failed to acknowledge their title to universal admiration. The Hakluyt Society, in especial, has devoted to them one

of its most remarkable volumes. These explorations were the principal lights on Hudson's way to the north-east, and we must therefore again dwell upon them, although they have been so thoroughly investigated by Dr. Beke in the work repeatedly referred to.

We have, on a former page, spoken of the tide of emigration from the southern provinces of the Netherlands, caused by Alba's persecutions. We have also said that many of the most vigorous elements of that stream, after having been scattered over all parts of Europe, gathered again and settled in the northern provinces, especially in Holland and Zealand, when these parts became free from the Spanish yoke. One of the men who thus left Belgium, strayed far abroad, and afterwards went to Holland, was Oliver Brunel, a native of Brussels, whom we meet, in 1580, at the mouth of the river Petchora, bent on the search for a north-east passage.

Alba's persecutions began in 1567 and lasted till 1573. During the same period, and for several years afterwards, the frontier provinces of Russia and Sweden were desolated by the fierce contentions between those two empires. The Swedes called to their flags a number of foreigners, mostly, or perhaps all, Protestants. Scotch and Germans they were said to be, but under these names there were also comprised adventurers from other countries. Among these probably was Oliver Brunel. He was made a prisoner by the Russians, and had, in 1580, been for several years in the service of two Russian merchants, the

one called Yakow, the other Anikyi. A Swedish shipwright, probably also a prisoner, was likewise in the service of these Russians. At that time the factors of the English Muscovy Company were continually making inquiries about the roads to the mouth of the Oby, and beyond it to Cathay. This roused the attention of the Russians, and the two merchants whom we have named hurried to follow the example as soon as the opportunity offered. They employed the skilful prisoners to construct and navigate for them two vessels, fit for sailing in shallow water. Oliver Brunel, a man, as it seems, of no very high scientific attainments, but of good powers of observation, explored the whole coast of Russia, from the mouth of the Petchora to the mouth of the Oby. He also went to Vaigats and to Nova Zembla Proper. Having thus made himself useful to his masters, he was sent by them to Antwerp to hire a number of clever sailors for further exploration of the north-eastern route. On this journey he arrived, in February, 1581, on the island of Oesel, in the gulf of Livonia. In Arensburg, the capital of that island, there lived a man called John Balak, who was learned in geography. Balak, much interested by Brunel's account, requested him to call on Gerard Mercator, the great geographer, a Belgian by birth, who was living at Duisburg, in Cleves. Mercator had left his home much before Alba's time; but already well aware that his liberal opinions in matters of religion (he was nominally a Roman Catholic, but had singular notions of his own) would expose him to danger.

The letter of introduction which Brunel received from Balak was afterwards communicated by Mercator to Richard Hakluyt, in whose collection it is to be found.

It is not clear whether Brunel ever went to Antwerp for his employers. He may not have known, when he left Russia, that Alexander of Parma had recently made an end to the reign of the friends of independence in Belgium, and that it would, perhaps, be hazardous to return there. However this may be, we afterwards find Brunel connected with the town of Enchuysen, in West Friesland.[1] He undertook a voyage to the river Petchora, in a vessel from Enchuysen. After having collected much valuable merchandize, he lost his ship, and perhaps his life, in the mouth of the river.

The town of Enchuysen thus became engaged in the north-eastern scheme. This town chanced to possess at the time a number of distinguished men, who required but an impulse to engage their ideas in this new direction. Among these were Jacob Valck, the treasurer of the town; Dr. Francis Maelson, the syndic of West Friesland, a man of much geographical learning; Cornelis Corneliszoon Nai, also called Menscheter, or Anthropophagus, a seaman of considerable experience; and several other seamen, whom we shall have occasion to notice. Distinguished before all his fellow citizens was Jan Huighen van Linschoten, whose great work on the East Indies is

[1] West Friesland borders on Holland, and forms part of the same province; it may almost be considered as a part of Holland.

still a standard book in public and private libraries. Linschoten lived for years in the Portuguese possessions in the east, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with their resources. He, better than any one else, was able to understand how great an advantage it would be for any country to enter into commercial connection with those opulent regions.

The northern provinces of the Netherlands, so small a spot on the map of Europe, had at that time much more than their own share of energy, intelligence, and riches. The exiles from Belgium and other refugees were crowded together in their new home, and were anxiously seeking a vent for their pent up energies. Such a vent the north-eastern scheme afforded. In the chief towns of Holland and Zealand two men arose, both Belgian emigrants, who led the minds of their fellow citizens towards these ideas. Balthasar de Moucheron, an Antwerp merchant, settled in Middelburg, the capital of Zealand, had long been trading with Russia. The route to the White Sea was familiar to his captains and pilots. The above-mentioned Enchuysen sailors were all in his service. He also communicated with Maelson and Valck, and between these men the plan of a north-eastern expedition was brought to maturity. At Amsterdam there lived the celebrated geographer Peter Plancius, the very centre of the Belgian emigration, an ardent Calvinist preacher and divine, and one of the great geographical scholars of the age. He, before all others, formed with deliberate intention the design of crippling the Spanish power by

rival commerce, and for that purpose he founded at Amsterdam a school of navigation, in which the heroes of the northern and of the first eastern voyages of the Dutch acquired the greater part of their theoretical knowledge. The most distinguished among his pupils were Willem Barents and Jacob van Heemskerk, the Davis and the Drake of Holland.

It was in the year 1594 that these movements yielded their first great result. Moucheron and his Enchuysen friends fitted out two vessels, the *Swan*, from Ter Ver, in Zealand; the *Mercury*, from Enchuysen. Both were commanded by Enchuysen men; the *Swan*, by Cornelis Nai, who had as under-pilot Pieter Strickbolle. With them went, as Moucheron's commercial agent, François de la Dale, a relative of Moucheron, who had resided several years in Russia; and as interpreter a Slavonian, named Splindler, who had been studying at Leyden. The *Mercury* was commanded by Brant Tetgales, with Claes Cornelizoon as mate, both of Enchuysen. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten accompanied them as "commis,"[1] or coopman, filling, on board the *Mer-*

[1] The signification of this word seems not to be generally understood. Even Dr. Beke has been somewhat unjust towards Hulsius, because he supposes him to have translated it very incorrectly. The title *commis*, and the identical one of *coopman*, is generally translated *supercargo*. This is correct enough in one sense, though very incorrect in another. The functions of a commis were principally commercial, but his position was infinitely superior to that of a supercargo of the present day. When ships were sent out to open commercial intercourse with foreign nations, the men who were specially charged with these negociations held necessarily a high rank

cury, the same position which De la Dale held on board the *Swan*. Peter Plancius and his friends at Amsterdam roused the public spirit in that city, and the Amsterdammers likewise fitted out a vessel for the north-eastern search, under the command of Plancius' pupil, Willem Barents.

The vessels under the two Enchuysen men, and that from Amsterdam, sailed together from home and returned home together; still the two expeditions may almost be considered as distinct, so different were the plans which they followed. Maelson and his friends seem to have been intent on adopting in every respect the indications of Oliver Brunel. They instructed the two Enchuysen captains to sail through Pet Strait, between the mainland of Russia and Vaigats; then along the coast of the Sea of Kara, and

in the expedition. Generally they had full powers from their government, and were diplomatic as well as commercial agents. They were neither the subordinates of the skipper, nor absolutely his superiors. Each disposed of the resources of the ship for the special business with which he was entrusted; the skipper on sea, the commis in port. The noble nature of the men employed on the arctic expeditions prevented the else almost unavoidable conflicts between these two kinds of authority. Linschoten and Tetgales, Nai and De la Dale, Heemskerk and Barents, always agreed. But during the voyage where Cornelis Houtman was *commis* on board the *Hollandia*, there was a long series of struggles between the two authorities. Cornelis Houtman was at last, by general consent, made captain of the whole fleet. This fact, with which Hulsius was acquainted, seems to have induced him to translate Linschoten's title of *commis* by *Oberster*; a translation which is not quite correct when applied to Linschoten, but not by any means so erroneous as Dr. Beke seems to think.

then to the Oby. Plancius, on the other hand, must have known that the English had repeatedly tried that road without success. He considered it as impracticable, and his pupil was instructed to sail along the Nova Zembla group, then to round it by the north-east, and thus to reach Cathay. Each party followed its own instructions. They all sailed together to Kilduyn, on the Lapland coast, where they separated. The Enchuysen captains then took their course through Pet Strait, which they named Nassau Strait, as if it had been a new discovery of their own. They now found even the strait pestered with ice, and had some difficulty in penetrating through it. Still greater were their difficulties in the Sea of Kara. After a vain attempt to follow their instructions literally and to keep the coast in sight, they had to return to the strait. Thence they afterwards started again, induced by the promising aspect of the ice, and in fact succeeded in crossing the Sea of Kara in a north-easterly direction. They mistook Kara Bay for the mouth of the river Oby, and tried to convince themselves and others that they had sailed beyond that river. Satisfied with that imaginary result, and unable to penetrate any further, they returned. Near the Russian coast they met Willem Barents, who had also followed *his* instructions. He had sailed along the whole of the Nova Zembla group, had rounded its north-eastern point, and had reached a cluster of islands, called by him the Orange Islands, off the north-eastern extremity. This exploit has never been repeated, except afterwards by Barents himself. The

northern and north-eastern parts of Nova Zembla are yet laid down from his surveys. Still, when the two parties arrived at home, it was to the men from Enchuysen that the greater success was attributed; simply because they advocated their claims more loudly and more eloquently, and because Linschoten, Nai, and their friends, possessed much more weight than Plancius and his pupils, who were sneered at as theorists.

The reports brought home by the Zeeland and Enchuysen ships caused a general commotion throughout the country. It was now thought certain, that China could be reached by a north-eastern route; and a much larger venture was made than the former one. Seven ships were fitted out, with the assistance of the government; two from Amsterdam, two from Zealand, two from Enchuysen, one from Rotterdam. The command of the whole fleet was entrusted to Nai. Barents commanded the two Amsterdam vessels. The ships sailed by the same route, which had so often been followed without success. They entered the Kara Sea through Vaigats Straits. After a protracted struggle with the ice, they were obliged to return without even having made any new discoveries.

Moucheron and the Enchuysen men now wisely gave up the scheme, as one which could not produce any satisfactory result. But the hopes of the nation had been too much roused to die away at once. Plancius, at Amsterdam, especially, thought that a fair trial had not been given to his plan of sailing much farther north than the Enchuysen and Zealand men

had done. Barents was of the same opinion. Their friends at Amsterdam supported them, perhaps in some degree from opposition to Enchuysen and Middelburg. But the government were unwilling again to risk the resources of a new and dangerously placed community, and refused to grant them any assistance. They afforded them, however, some encouragement in a new manner, which has since been successfully imitated in England. Large rewards were promised to any vessel that would accomplish the voyage to China by the north-east. This was sufficient to induce moneyed men to risk their property, sailors to risk their lives, on this adventure.

Two vessels were fitted out at Amsterdam, the one under Jacob van Heemskerk and Willem Barents, the other under John Cornelis Ryp. Both vessels left Amsterdam the 10th of May, 1596. In the beginning of June, shortly after they had passed the North Cape, disputes arose between Ryp and Barents. Ryp would not sail towards the north point of Nova Zembla, but kept a more north-western course; perhaps with the intention of steering straight across the North Pole, perhaps merely from opposition to Barents. Barents followed Ryp, and their course brought them to Bear Island, in latitude 74° 30′, longitude 18° 40′, which they discovered on the 9th of June. Their voyage from the 9th to the 30th is not very clearly indicated in the logbook. Indeed, as it is there described it is impossible. According to Dr. Beke's and Mr. Peterman's interpretation, they sailed round Spitzbergen from south-east to north-west,

then to the west, and at last back to Bear Island from north-west to south-east. This feat seems highly improbable, and no one but these enthusiastic admirers of Barents ever imagined it. According to the opinion of all other writers, Barents and Ryp explored merely the western side of Spitzbergen up to its most northern point, and perhaps a very small part of the northern shore. Then they returned to Bear Island. This view of the case is borne out by the almost contemporary map of Hondius, which forms part of the present collection.

Hondius' map was specially intended as an illustration of the voyage under review. Its statements were, at least tacitly, accepted as correct by Plancius and others, who had means of knowing the facts of the case.[1] After their return to Bear Island, the 1st of July, Ryp and Barents separated; Ryp to renew the search from the north-west of Spitzbergen eastward, Barents to round the northern point of Nova Zembla, as he was ordered to do; of Ryp's further proceedings, no satisfactory account remains. Barents succeeded, on the 15th of August, in rounding the north-point, and in sailing a short distance to the south-east. But the ice of the Kara Sea soon

[1] See the map: *Tabula Geogr in qua admirandæ navigationis cursus et recursus designatur.* The *admiranda navigatio* is Barents' third voyage, the course of which is indicated on the map. The work in which the map first appeared, *Pontanus' Description of Amsterdam,* was first published in 1611; a Dutch translation, *with the same maps,* appeared in 1614. Pontanus himself had paid very considerable attention to northern discoveries, and was one of the most strenuous advocates of the north-eastern passage.

arrested his progress. On the 26th of August, he had to seek refuge on the north-eastern coast of Nova Zembla; and unable either to advance or to return through the ice, he was obliged to winter in this dreary region. Entirely unprepared for so highly dangerous an undertaking, both he and his crew had to undergo the severest sufferings, to which Barents succumbed the 20th of June, 1597. The return voyage of the crew under the able command of Jacob Heemskerk, is a deservedly celebrated adventure, which, however, offers no new fact of geographical interest.

No more north-eastern expeditions were undertaken before the year 1607. The history both of the north-western and north-eastern search has thus been brought down to Hudson's time. We have now to sum up the result of all these expeditions, and to see when and by whom the various coasts had been discovered and explored. Afterwards we shall have to inquire how the geographical results gained by these voyages presented themselves to the minds of Hudson and of his contemporaries. The voyages which we have recorded were nearly all directed to the arctic regions. In summing them up, we shall have to wander half round the North Pole. It seems best to begin where our review of the voyages ended, namely, on the north-eastern extremity of Europe.

The Nova Zembla group and the adjoining waters had formed the scene of frequent voyages. Some of the mariners had penetrated into the Sea of Kara, and had fought glorious battles against its redoubt-

able icefields. Oliver Brunel had, about 1580, even passed beyond the Kara Sea, exploring the Russian shore on the land side, from the mouth of the Petchora to the mouth of the Oby. A still more extraordinary feat is recorded of an English vessel, which, about the same period, performed the voyage from the Petchora to the Oby by sea. The eastern shore of the Kara Sea had, besides, been touched by the Enchuysen and Zeeland vessels of the first Dutch expedition in 1594. These are the explorations in the southern and south-eastern part of the Kara Sea. Its northern, or rather north-western, part had been entered in 1594, and still farther in 1596, by William Barents. Thus a part of the south-eastern and of the north-eastern shores of Nova Zembla had been visited. The remaining part of the east coast had never been touched by Europeans. The only navigable strait between the islands, that between Nova Zembla Proper and Vaigats, had been discovered by Burrough in 1556. The strait between Vaigats and the Russian coast had become perfectly familiar both to the English and the Dutch. It had been discovered by Pet and Jackman in 1580, and about the same time by Brunel. Nine Dutch vessels passed through it in 1594 and 1595. Some vague knowledge of other straits and bays had also been acquired, mostly by indirect information. The west coast of Nova Zembla had been visited, in its northern part, by Burrough and Pet, in its southern part by Barents, who had also rounded the northern point, and had, as already stated, entered the Kara Sea by

the north-east. He had there discovered the Orange Islands, off the north-east coast of Nova Zembla.

The whole *Russian coast*, along the Spitzbergen and White Sea, had frequently been visited. Kolguev Island, west of the Petchora, had been touched by most of the eastward bound mariners. The group of inhospitable islands on the boundary line of eternal ice, between 80° and 76°, which we call *Spitzbergen*, had been found in 1596, and the western shores of the two western islands had been explored. In the same year, 1596, Bear Island, south of the western islands of the Spitzbergen group, had been touched on its western, and again on its eastern side.

Iceland, the next country we fall in with, had been colonized by the ancient Scandinavians. In more recent times, it had very frequently been visited by Englishmen and other mariners from the south, though the expeditions which we have narrated had not touched it, because it lies out of the track both of the north-western and the north-eastern search. Two vessels, dispatched on this special service by Davis in 1586, had sought for a passage to the North Pole between Iceland and Greenland, and had thus sailed along the east side of the great arctic continent. They had, however, not touched Greenland itself.

Greenland had been colonized, on its eastern side, by the Scandinavians. These colonies had been lost, and their inhabitants had perhaps not even left any descendants. They seem to have been visited by John of Kolno, in 1476, and in the sixteenth

century by their bishops and by Blefkenius. No recent navigator had touched any part of the eastern shore, except near the southern point. John Davis explored the south-eastern coast of Greenland, between 60° and 61°. He also rounded the southern point, and sailed up along the western side to about 61°. This portion of the west coast had also been touched by Frobisher, ten years before Davis. Between 61° and 64° the west coast had never been seen since the time of the Scandinavians. From 64° up to 73° it had been surveyed by Davis in 1585, 1586, and 1587.

Davis' Strait had first been crossed by the ancient Scandinavians, at a very remote period. It had again been discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1517. The American side of Davis' Strait was known to the Scandinavians. Cabot also found it when he entered the strait in 1517. The shore between 64° and 67° 30′ is laid down upon his map. Davis had reached nearly the same latitude, at least within a degree. He had also explored the whole American coast down to 52°, had entered three of the inlets: Cumberland Inlet in 63°; Davis' Inlet in 56°; Ivuctoke Inlet in 54° 30′; he had also surveyed the mouths of Frobisher's and of Hudson's Straits.

Frobisher's Strait and the surrounding islands had been found by the seaman whose name the strait bears.

Hudson's Strait had been discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1498. The Portuguese had sailed through it and had become acquainted with part of Hudson's Bay between 1558 and 1569. In 1577 Frobisher

had by chance entered the strait. In 1602 Weymouth had sailed nearly a hundred leagues into it, from Hatton's Headland to the neighbourhood of Hope's Advance Bay.

The whole *east coast of North America* from 38° north to the mouth of Hudson's Strait, had been surveyed by Sebastian Cabot in 1498, and part of it before, in 1497, by his father and him. Others had rediscovered various parts. Thus the east of Newfoundland had been explored by Cortereal in 1501; the south coast, by some fishers from Normandy and Brittany in 1504 and 1508. The mouth of the St. Lawrence had also been visited by Cortereal and by these French mariners. The river, nearly up to the lakes, and all the surrounding country, had been thoroughly explored by Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1535, and afterwards by Roberval and Cartier.

The *sandbanks near the mouth of the St. Lawrence*, and the fishing stations along the Newfoundland coast, were frequented by the English, Portuguese, French, and Spaniards. From the mouth of the St. Lawrence down to 38° of latitude various navigators had explored the coasts. Verazzano, in 1524, sailed from latitude 34° to latitude 50°, always along the shore. Gomez, in 1525, explored the coast of Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey. Both Verazzano and Gomez found the mouth of Hudson River. The Spaniards afterwards sailed along that shore, and marked some of its principal points as convenient stations. Two of the islands along the same coast were also found; Martha's Vineyard (which the

ancient Scandinavians are also said to have visited) by Verazzano; Nantucket by the Spaniards.

It does not belong to our purpose to proceed any further. But we may observe, that on the west side of North America, the whole coast, from the isthmus up to 45°, had been explored by the Spaniards. It had also been satisfactorily ascertained that no strait or passage across America exists, between the Strait of Magellan and the regions of which we have spoken.

When thus reviewing the labours of the early navigators, we may well admire the activity that had been displayed during the first century of modern exploration. We must not, however, suppose that these navigators had acquired a complete knowledge of the conformation of the coasts explored by them, and had communicated this knowledge to their contemporaries, making it the common property of the civilized world. Had they been able and willing to do this, little would have been left for after times to accomplish. But their method and means of observation were very different from those which have since been developed, and the narrow and selfish tendencies of the age led to secresy and isolation. The immediate results which they themselves obtained, though doubtless of the very greatest importance, were not nearly so satisfactory as would be imagined by any one not acquainted with the state of science in those times. The principal obstacle against which all the early geographers had to struggle, was the impossibility of observing longitudes. This difficulty has not even yet been completely conquered, and we find

in this respect very considerable discrepancies between the surveys of different navigators of the present day. But in those times longitudes were hardly calculated at all. Many journals of early voyages, those of Hudson among others, do not contain a single indication of longitudes. Davis made one or two calculations of this kind; yet even he committed such mistakes, that he was wrong by at least ten degrees. The nearest approach to correct longitudes is to be found in some of Sebastian Cabot's surveys. He himself affirmed that these calculations were based on his observations of the variation of the needle; but his assertion can hardly be strictly true. His experience, great though it was, cannot have furnished him with a sufficient number of facts to base upon them complete and satisfactory conclusions with regard to this absorbing question. As regards his system itself, he has left a few vague indications, which prove that he had observed the dip of the needle as well as its variation, and had tried to account for both. But how the system which he had formed could enable him to calculate the longitude of the mouth of Hudson's Strait correctly, within one or two degrees, as he has done, cannot well be explained. Perhaps this correctness was obtained merely by chance.

However this may be, Cabot certainly did not impart any such knowledge to others, and even now the navigator is unable to ascertain longitudes by the variation and dip of the needle. As regards latitudes, the system of calculating them is so simple, that we find nearly correct observations made in the

very earliest times. Still the imperfect state of the instruments which the early navigators made use of caused mistakes of several minutes to be committed in perhaps every instance. Errors even of half a degree can be distinctly proved. Besides, in the high latitudes, it was often for days impossible to make any observations, on account of the almost permanent clouds and fogs. Then we have only the dead reckoning left, which is perfectly unreliable in a region noted for its strong, varying, and often unaccountable currents. These were not the only obstacles to correct geographical knowledge. The modern discoveries could only be regarded as improvements upon the ancient stock of information. The vague indications of classic and mediæval writers had, as we have above stated, been made the foundation for geographical systems, for maps and charts, in which as implicit faith was placed, in spite of mutual contradictions, as we now place in our best surveys. These mediæval delineations could not fail to exercise their influence on modern geography. There are also to be found, on the maps of the sixteenth century, such territories as the *Island of Demons*, and other fantastic lands. From all these discordant elements, and under these disadvantages, the maps that were current in Hudson's time had been made up. Before we enter upon our review of these delineations, we must state who were the men to whom they are due.

The modern system of map making may be said to have originated in Belgium, about the year 1550. It is a combination of two different methods, both of

which had sprung up during the memorable period which forms the transition from the middle ages to the modern era. The intellectual movement of that epoch had, among other new births, also produced the first *maps* and the first *charts*. These two kinds of geographical delineations were, in the beginning, as different from each other as they both differed from the rude geographical drawings of the middle ages. The *maps* were the work of landsmen, the *charts* almost exclusively of seamen.[1] There were also other considerable differences between the *maps* and *charts*. The maps answered purposes somewhat similar to those for which maps of towns are now designed. They were confined to limited tracts of country, and were intended to show the relative positions of well-known cities, villages, rivers, and mountains. Degrees of latitude and longitude were not strictly needed, and were also not to be found in them. They were all isolated productions, without any connexion or harmony among them. These maps had already become very numerous; in 1570 nearly a hundred had been engraved; many more were then probably in manuscript. The charts, on the contrary, embraced an immense expanse of sea and land. Few of them could be the isolated productions of single geographers, for they necessarily were based on collections of various materials. In Portugal and Spain, the two principal countries to which we owe the important early charts, the profession of making them was

[1] This observation, and some of the following details, are due to M. Lelewel's *Géographie du Moyen Age*.

a privilege confined to a few highly placed individuals, who were bound to secresy. They received from the arriving explorers such new communications as might serve to correct the charts, and they made admirable use of their opportunities. Such men as Da la Cosa, Sebastian Cabot, Ribeiro, Homem, are among the Spanish and Portuguese chart makers. Their position was similar to that now held by the hydrographers to the European and American admiralties. In France the position of chart maker seems not to have been an official one; yet there are also some great names among those of the French who followed this occupation.[1] These hydrographers of the sixteenth century were mostly seamen. Their works consist principally of two kinds, planispheres, and the so-called *portolani*. Both of them were still, in many parts, based upon the system of Ptolemy, of which they professed to be improvements. The planispheres were laid down upon somewhat uncertain principles of projection. The same may be said of the *portolani*, which corresponded in their character, and even, in some respects, in their execution, with the *sea atlases* which the Dutch produced in the seventeenth century. The *portolani* consist of several charts, the first of which generally are planispheres. Afterwards follow charts of single countries, or of tracts of coast. Sometimes the soundings

[1] The French charts have the merit of uniting the information furnished by various nations. They are, perhaps, more important than any other class as sources for the history of geography. Some interesting facts with regard to early French charts are to be found in Mr. Major's recent work on Australia.

are given. A history of geographical science may be traced by the comparison of these charts, which exercised considerable influence upon each other. Most important in that respect are two delineations, of which we may be allowed to speak in some detail. The first of them is the planisphere of Diego Ribeiro, geographer to Charles V. This great work furnished the foundation for nearly all the later delineations of America. It was composed in 1529; an earlier draught of 1527 is also in existence; but there the outline of the New World is much less correct. In all the early charts which we have been able to compare with that of Ribeiro,[1] America is either copied from it, with or without improvements, or at least large sections from Ribeiro are inserted. This is especially the case with regard to the neighbourhood of Hudson's River, a region laid down by Ribeiro from Estevan Gomez' survey, and which has been copied from him by *all* the early map makers whose works we have been able to confront with his planisphere, with the only exception of Lok, whose outline of the same region is taken from a manuscript chart of Verazzano.

The other chart we were going to speak of, that of Sebastian Cabot, is also a planisphere. It was first published in 1544, with a text in Latin and Spanish; afterwards again in 1549, with a reprint of the Latin text. Much later, probably after Cabot's death, a copy was made by Clement Adams, in which the

[1] We have not been able to compare Sebastian Cabot's map with it.

Latin text is corrupted, and a simple and not inelegant style turned into a bombastic and unbearable one. If we can at all trust the descriptions given of some parts of that chart by Willes and Gilbert, the chart itself must likewise have been altered, for their details are in flat contradiction with the 1544 edition, a copy of which is preserved in Paris. These alterations exercised a very considerable influence on the scheme of the north-western search, as we have had occasion to notice. The *charts*, almost without exception, and especially those of Ribeiro and Cabot, have both latitudes and longitudes. Little reliance can be placed in the longitudes.

It was by a combination of the early maps and the early charts, that some Belgian scholars of the sixteenth century founded the modern system of map making. Placed, as they were, in the centre of trade, and in a country eminent both in art and industry, they were best able to undertake this mission. The first notable man who distinguished himself in this manner was the Frisian Gemma, who passed nearly the whole of his life in Belgium. His works are, however, of no importance for our subject. Far more celebrated and of real importance for us, are his two great successors, Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius, whose method, like that of Gemma, consisted in the combination and arrangement of the various geographical materials which they procured from all parts of Europe, paying an equal attention to charts and to maps. The works of Ortelius and Mercator that come under our consideration, are the

great planisphere, *In usum navigantium*, published by Mercator in 1569, and the maps of America and Asia, which form part of Ortelius' *Orbis terrarum*, first published in 1570. Of these we shall presently have occasion to speak. We must, however, first conclude our observations on the maps and charts available when Hudson sailed, by mentioning the last and most important class. Hudson's immediate predecessors in the arctic search, Frobisher, Davis, Linschoten and Barents, had, during their voyages, not only made the usual written notes, but had also made draughts of the coasts they had explored. Frobisher's draught had been published with one of the accounts of his voyage. Davis' sketch had been inserted in the celebrated Molyneux globe, which is mentioned by Hakluyt, and of which there is still a copy in existence in the library of the Middle Temple. Linschoten's illustrations of Vaigats Strait and southern Nova Zembla adorned his descriptions of the two first arctic voyages of the Dutch. Barents' chart of Nova Zembla appeared in the account of his voyages, and he seems also to have left a sketch of Spitzbergen, which Hondius afterwards made use of.

Having now become familiar with the geographical delineations at Hudson's disposal, we are able to examine them as it were with his own eyes, and to see what he found in them. In doing so we shall avail ourselves of the two charts in the present work, the one of which was drawn by Jodocus Hondius in 1611, the other by Hudson himself in 1610 and 1611.

They do not embrace all the coasts which we shall have to travel over, and we must, for the rest, refer the reader to other sources. As far as the two charts do reach, they furnish a true and plastic expression of Hudson's geographical notions.

Hudson's ideas, as far at least as they are known, were all concentrated on the search for a short northern route to China. If we, therefore, wish to identify ourselves with him in examining the geographical delineations that were at his disposal, we must, in doing so, always keep in view the chances of a north-eastern or north-western passage, which these maps and charts seemed to promise. We must principally bear in mind that both the north-eastern and the north-western passage are in reality impracticable, and that only mistaken notions with regard to the conformation of the arctic shores could lead to hopes of realizing these schemes.

When we compare the chart of Hondius in our collection with a modern map, we find nowhere greater discrepancies than in the *north-east*. These discrepancies are the worthier of notice, as they exactly represent Hudson's mistakes, and explain why he thought the north-eastern passage possible. Hondius' delineation of those parts is so erroneous, that a minute comparison with a modern map could not be seriously undertaken. The two most striking errors are, however, these. He places, in latitude 73°, a promontory called *Cape Tabin*, for the existence of which, according to Hondius' statement, Pliny is the only authority. Hondius adds, that the

real situation of Cape Tabin is unknown, and that its existence is improbable. "According to the most recent information," says he, "that has been brought from China, it seems likely that Asia does not reach farther northward than to the fiftieth degree of latitude." Now, in reality, there are two capes close to each other in the region where Cape Tabin is here placed, namely, Cape Taimur, about 75° 30′, and Cape Severo-Vostochnoi, about 78°. The whole north coast of Siberia, with the only exception of its most eastern part, lies above the seventieth degree of latitude. So there is in Hondius' estimates a mistake of twenty-eight degrees as regards the most northern point, and a mistake of twenty degrees as regards the general line of coast of Siberia.

Hudson's mistakes with respect to these regions were perhaps not so exaggerated. His ideas were most probably in conformity with those of Mercator and Ortelius, who place Cape Tabin even farther north than Cape Taimur really lies. Beyond Cape Tabin there is, however, even in their maps, no serious obstacle for an eastward bound vessel. The coast slopes rapidly southwards to Japan and China, and the whole difficulty of the north-eastern passage seems therefore conquered when once Cape Tabin is passed. This notion, which is almost as erroneous as that which Hondius entertained, was undoubtedly shared by Hudson.[1]

The second glaring mistake consists in the erro-

[1] Hudson calls *Cape Tabin* the *North Cape of Tartary;* Ortelius calls it *Promontorium Scythicum.* See p. 36, note 1.

neous situation of the *mouth of the Oby*. This river was generally considered as a kind of first stage in the north-eastern search, and to reach or pass it was justly thought a great achievement. Now Linschoten and his companions had spread the erroneous notion that the mouth of the Oby is situated in the bottom of Kara Bay, at a small distance from the south of Nova Zembla. The mouth of the Oby seemed, therefore, to be in a recess, which need not be touched by the navigator on his way to the east. This error has been adopted by Hondius. Hudson also shared it, as appears clearly from an observation in the description of his second voyage.[1]

The place where the Oby empties itself into the Arctic Ocean lies, however, in reality three or four degrees eastward from the Sea of Kara, and five degrees farther north than the bottom of that sea. It is separated from the Kara Sea by a peninsula, which none of the early navigators was able to double, although many attempted it. One of the most difficult parts of the road to the east was thus suppressed in the intelligence which Hudson received. Had he known how much the geographers were mistaken with regard to these two points, he would scarcely have wasted so much of his energies on his hopeless undertaking.

We now leave the extreme east of Hondius' map and proceed westward. We arrive at the *northern shore of Russia*, the outline of which Hondius seems to have borrowed from Ortelius, who again had ob-

[1] P. 36, the passage to which note 1 refers.

tained it from one of the early *maps* we have been speaking of. This outline, though of course faulty, is yet far from being so incorrect as to give rise to serious errors. Hudson, moreover, never visited this shore.

To the north of the Russian coast we perceive, on Hondius' chart, *the Nova Zembla group*. We have already called attention to the fact, that the ice in the Sea of Kara had prevented the exploration of the greater part of the east coast of Nova Zembla. This explains the want of a coast line on that side.[1] There are, besides, some other momentous defects in this delineation, which is a reduced copy of the above-mentioned chart of Nova Zembla left by Willem Barents. The principal defect is that Nova Zembla appears as one island, not as a group of islands with straits between them. The frozen straits north and south of Matthew's Land are not even indicated. Burrough's Strait appears as a bay (St. Laurent's Bay.) On the other hand a real bay, that of Kostin Shar (here called Kostintsarck) looks like a partly explored strait. If we would understand Hudson's second voyage, we must not lose sight of the fact that he used *this* outline of the Nova Zembla coast, which had found its way not only into the most approved Dutch, but also into the most accredited English geographical draughts, such as, for instance, the celebrated Molyneux globe. It appeared to Hudson that there were only three chances of passing Nova Zembla, namely, by the north, by the south, and, *perhaps*,

[1] This coast line has not even yet been completed.

through Kostin Shar. Knowing how often the attempts in the two former directions had failed, he tried a search in the third direction, and then found Barents' mistake. We may, perhaps, here say that, in pointing out the errors of Barents which misled Hudson, we do not intend to blame the great Dutch navigator. The mistakes were unavoidable, as must be seen by any one who has read the narrative of his voyages; and it is not certain whether the chart which we have been commenting upon is the work of Barents or that of De Veer.

Proceeding farther to the west, on Hondius' chart we fall in with two islands, *Matsyn*, in 75°, and *Willoughby's Land*, in 72°. Neither of these islands has a real existence. They are, as it were, delusive duplicates of Matthew's Land and Nova Zembla proper, two of the islands of the Nova Zembla group. These duplicates owe their origin to a delusion, which the impossibility of calculating longitudes necessarily engendered. It was, in fact, unavoidable, that sometimes, at least, the same coast should appear twice in the same map, once farther east, once farther west, though in the same latitude. For how could it be proved that two points, both under nearly the same degree, that had been touched by two different vessels, really belonged to the same shore? Matsyn Island is thus nothing more than a western repetition, a *Doppelgänger*, as Germans would say, of Matthew's Land. The latitude is identical, so is also the name. Matsyn is a corruption of the Russian *Mathuyshin* (Matthew's). It does not clearly

appear when Matsyn Island was first introduced into maps and charts.

Willoughby's Land is even with greater certainty to be considered a kind of western duplicate of Nova Zembla Proper. This has been proved over and over again by recent writers, the most satisfactorily by Mr. Rundall.[1] On the chart which Hudson used during his second voyage, Willoughby's Land seems to have been laid down in the same latitude as it is here, but somewhat nearer to the coast of Nova Zembla. Hudson had some doubts with regard to the correctness of this information, but he was certainly very far from imagining how extraordinary a theory would soon spring up, to be made use of in a note to his words in the printed copy of his journal. "Willoughby's Land," says Purchas in his note, "a conceit of cardmakers, it seeming to be no other than Newland."[2] Purchas is as much mistaken as the *cardmakers*. The idea that the country discovered by Willoughby in 1553 is Newland (Spitzbergen), did not, however, originate with Purchas. Its origin must be placed between the years 1608 and 1613. At the time of Hudson's second voyage, in 1608, a notion similar to the one expressed on Hondius' chart still prevailed in England. In 1613 the new notion that Willoughby had discovered Spitzbergen had already become the foundation of the claim of the Muscovy Company to the exclusive right of fish-

[1] Introduction to his *Voyages to the North-west,* edited for the Hakluyt Society, pp. i-viii.

[2] P. 40, and marginal note to the same page, *Newland* is Spitzbergen.

ing along the Spitzbergen coast. The precise date when the discovery was invented seems to have been the year 1612, and its inventor[1] a man named *Daniel*, perhaps (?) the poet and historian, Samuel Daniel.

To the west of the Russian coast we find on Hondius' chart the *northern parts of Scandinavia.* No better proof of the progress which geography had already made could possibly be offered. This nearly correct outline is a combination of various sources, maps and charts. The following points on the shore

[1] Willoughby's pretended discovery was got up to furnish a sufficient ground for the English claim to the exclusive possession of the Spitzbergen fisheries. The abundance of morses and whales near Spitzbergen had been first pointed out by Hudson in 1607. Three years afterwards, in 1610, Poole went there to fish for morses. In the following year, 1611, Edge founded the whale fisheries. In 1612 the Dutch made their appearance at these fisheries to have their share in them. In 1613 the English Muscovy Company obtained a royal charter excluding all others, natives and foreigners, from the Spitzbergen fisheries, on the ground of Willoughby's pretended discovery. There is every reason to believe that the discovery had been invented for the occasion. The following circumstance points to Daniel as the inventor. In the celebrated Dutch collection of voyages, *Begin ende Voortgang von de Oost Indische Compagnie,* there is a copy of a map of Spitzbergen by Daniel, published in London in 1612. Now the Dutch writers, Hessel Gerritz and Peter Plancius, *replied* in 1613 to some English work where the discovery of Spitzbergen by Willoughby was maintained; and it is therefore but natural to suppose, that the map of Spitzbergen of 1612, and the book or writing replied to by the Dutch, had both the same author, namely, Daniel. Howsoever this may be, it is certain that the idea originated between Hudson's second voyage (1608) and 1613. Samuel Daniel died in 1619. He is not known to have written about Spitzbergen, nor about any similar subject.

deserve particular notice: Wardhuys (Wardhuus) in Lapland; the North Kien and North Cape, the two most northern points; Sanien, an island in latitude 69°, which is here placed in latitude 70° (it is generally called Seynam by the early navigators); Loffoet, one of the group of islands which we now call Loffoden Islands, probably from a generalization of the name, which at first belonged only to one of them. All these places are mentioned in Hudson's logbooks.

North of Scandinavia we find *Bear Island*, and to the north of Bear Island, *Nieuland* (Spitzbergen). Bear Island, or t'Beeren Island, as it is here called, was discovered by Barents in 1590, and visited by Stephen Bennett in 1603. Bennett, claiming a new discovery, gave it a new name, and called it Cherie's Island, after his patron, Francis Cherie. Under the latter name it is known to Hudson.

The relative position of Bear Island and Spitzbergen is faulty. Bear Island ought to have been farther east. The error has arisen from a mistake made by Barents and Ryp in estimating the course they were sailing. The same mistake has also found its way into the description of their voyage, and has induced Dr. Beke and Mr. Petermann to ascribe to them the circumnavigation of Spitzbergen.

The delineation of *Spitzbergen* on Hondius' map is, for our purpose, the most important part of it, and for a double reason. A number of passages in the logbook of Hudson's first voyage, prove that he made use of a chart of Spitzbergen. The country had, up to 1607,

been visited only once, namely, by Barents and Ryp in 1596; and we have therefore cause to think that there existed but one chart of it, and that Hudson's chart must have been like the one which Hondius has copied. The second point of interest is still stronger. Some of Hudson's own discoveries have been introduced into this part of Hondius' map; namely, Colin's Cape, Hakluyt's Headland, part of the northern shore of Spitzbergen, and the great ice barrier between Spitzbergen and Greenland. There is so much vagueness and error in the way in which the information received from Hudson has been embodied in the map, that the communication between him and Hondius must have been merely oral. The outline itself embraces but the western and part of the northern shore of Spitzbergen. It is correct enough in its general features, but sadly defective in its details. Charles' Island, the western foreland, seems to form part of the mainland. The strait between the two lands is represented as a bay. These two principal mistakes had alone a considerable influence on Hudson's explorations. It would be an ungrateful task to dwell on the numerous minor deficiencies.

In the south-western corner of Hondius' chart we find *Denmark*, *Holland*, part of *England* and *Scotland*, the *Shetland* and the *Faroer Islands*. They are all drawn with approximative accuracy. The faults which do exist in their position and outlines had no influence on Hudson's movements.

We now arrive at the north-western border of

Hondius' chart. The same coasts that we find there are also drawn on the chart of Henry Hudson. Hudson's chart is only by a few months later than the one of Hondius, and yet the improvements are very great. They are mostly due to Hudson's last voyage, during which the chart was laid down. Nowhere, indeed, were improvements more urgently needed. Hondius' draught of these north-western parts is combined from the most incongruous materials. It represents, however, the geographical dogma of the age, and agrees with the notions which Hudson himself entertained before his own explorations procured him better insight. It is impossible to understand the meaning of these indications, and their influence on Henry Hudson, without throwing a cursory glance over the past history of the geography of those regions. This history is so curious that it deserves, on its own account, the reader's attention.

We have before observed that many arctic shores had been visited by the ancient Scandinavians, and that colonies had been founded in Iceland and Greenland. The Iceland colony still exists. The Greenland settlements, however, on the eastern side of the great arctic continent have not been visited for centuries, and the last descendants of the ancient colonists are likely to have perished many long years ago. Still there is some exaggeration in the prevailing opinion, that no communication between those parts and the rest of Europe has taken place since the end of the fourteenth century. There is reason to think that down to the first half of the sixteenth century

the shore of East Greenland was occasionally visited by the Scandinavians. The testimony which tends to prove these occasional visits has the appearance of being reliable. That intercourse was entirely limited to Scandinavians. The rest of Europe was little acquainted with the existence of the arctic countries, and it is only in much later times that accurate accounts of the early northern discoveries were introduced into the general stock of European knowledge. But these great facts could not, even during the middle ages, remain entirely hidden. Various rumours respecting Greenland reached the south of Europe before the end of the fifteenth century. Their influence on the geographical delineations of the arctic regions and on early expeditions was very considerable. By far the most important geographical communication of this kind is the celebrated chart which was published with the account of the voyage of the brothers Zeni. Every reader of geographical researches knows that, in 1558, a small volume was published in Venice, containing a most romantic narrative of the voyage of two Venetian brothers, belonging to the great Zeni family. They are reported to have visited, in 1387, several arctic countries, among which *Frisland*, *Engroneland*, *Iceland*, and *Estotiland* are the most notable. This curious book was, as we have said, accompanied by a chart, on which the above-mentioned countries were drawn. The original of that chart was in existence at a recent period, and it is certain that it was an old portolano belonging to the Zeno archives.

On its origin, as well as that of the book, and the authenticity of both, various conflicting opinions have been advanced, and defended with very considerable learning and ingenuity. No very satisfactory result has as yet been obtained. For our purpose this question of authenticity is entirely unavailing. What, however, deserves our most serious consideration is this. The Zeni chart, whether authentic or not, exhibits a far better outline of Greenland and Iceland than any other known map published or drawn before 1558.

The Zeni chart was of Scandinavian origin. It has never been, and, indeed, cannot be, considered as a mere fiction. Of this the reader of the present volume has the proof before his eyes. *Nearly the whole north-western part of Hondius' map is exactly copied from the chart of the Zeni.* On comparing, especially the outline of Greenland with a modern map of that country, the reader will be struck with surprise at the accuracy of the ancient delineation. If the Zeni chart be really a work of the fourteenth century, the delineation of Greenland upon it can, without hesitation, be pronounced the best geographical drawing that was then in existence. When examining this remarkable production, we are strongly reminded of the narratives of modern explorers, in which the wonderful capacity of the Esquimaux for tracing the courses of rivers and the lines of a coast is extolled. To this source we probably owe, of course indirectly, the outline of Greenland on the Zeno chart. This outline has been found sufficiently

accurate to serve as a basis for later improvements, and on it all modern maps of the country are founded. Some parts of the east coast are even now drawn on all maps from the mediæval survey, having never since been approached. But the old Zeni chart seems to have been a compilation made up from materials of very unequal value. The outline of Iceland is inferior to that of Greenland. Frisland is so strangely drawn, that only the name of the country and of some places upon it, and the fact that no other country can be meant, have led geographers to identify it with the Faroer Islands. The relative position of these countries, and their position also with relation to Scandinavia, Britain, and Iceland, is extremely defective. When the Zeni chart was published, degrees of longitude and latitude were to be found upon it. They had not been on the original, and had, according to the opinion of a most competent judge, Mr. Lelewel, been but recently introduced. These degrees added very considerably to the errors of the chart. The influence of the new source of mistake was, however, less strong in some parts, stronger in others. Iceland is but one degree too far north. Frisland, however, is entirely out of its place. *The southern point of Greenland is in latitude* 65°, *instead of latitude* 60°. This last mistake has had such singular consequences that too much attention cannot be paid to it.

The chart of the Zeni, such as it was, was received as perfectly authentic by all contemporary geographers. Ortelius and Mercator made use of it. It is

also expressly stated that Frobisher took it with him on his north-western voyages. He was, by means of this chart, led into great mistakes. He fell in with Greenland, the 4th of July, 1577, and the 20th of June, 1578, both times under about 61°. Having but the Zeni chart to guide him, he could not suppose that the country was Greenland. He mistook it for *Frisland*, and put down, in 1577, after four days exploration, that the coast and the chart agreed very well. This he further confirmed the next year, and Frisland had in this manner acquired a legitimate existence.

Davis also fell in with Greenland in 61°. He at once recognized that this was not Frisland. But having no reason to think that this country, which was several degrees farther south than the Engroneland of the Zeni chart, was really identical with it, he considered it as his own new discovery, and called it *Desolation*. We have seen, in the narrative of his voyage, that his course along the Greenland shore was always nearly the same. He first approached the coast near the southern promontory, then left it, and again approached it under 64°. He seems never to have been conscious of the continuity of coast between the 62nd and 64th degree. He therefore considered Desolation as an Island south of Groneland.

Another source of mistakes, furnished by the vagueness of Frobisher's accounts, enabled Davis to give the finishing stroke to this singular web of errors. The finished picture has been copied into

Hondius' chart from the great Molyneux globe, where it was first drawn by Davis. On both delineations we find, to the south of *Groneland*, a strait, and to the south of that strait the Island of Desolation. The strait is called Frobisher's Fret, and on both sides of it are marked the places which Frobisher had explored. So Frobisher's Strait had been carried to Greenland, and was now leading from the Atlantic into Davis' Strait.[1] This egregious mistake had been committed by one of the greatest arctic explorers. Can it be wondered at that Hudson, when sailing along the east coast of Greenland in 63° N., believed himself to be athwart Frobisher's Strait?

This, then, is the shape in which Greenland appeared. Between 60° and 62° the Island of Desolation; between 62° and 63° Frobisher's Strait, leading from the Atlantic to Davis' Strait; from 63° to 75°, the Engroneland of the Zeni. Close to Engroneland, Iceland. West of Desolation, Frisland. We have here again the same country (South Greenland) laid down twice, from modern exploration alone; as Frisland from Frobisher's, as Desolation from Davis' survey. South Greenland, moreover, appears a third time as the south of Engroneland, from the misunderstood mediæval survey of the Scandinavians.

We must now again refer to the Zeni chart. Hondius has not copied the whole of it. In the

[1] There can be no doubt as to the real locality of Frobisher's Strait, which is where modern maps place it. Every doubt must be removed by a comparison of Best's delineation of the strait with Ortelius' map of America.

original delineation, the coast of Engroneland stretches far eastward, to those regions where Hudson's ice barrier and where the Spitzbergen islands are situated. The discoverers of Spitzbergen were thus induced to think that theirs was no new discovery; but that they had simply touched a part of the *Greenland* or *Engroneland* which they found indicated on their charts. Accordingly, they called these coasts *Greenland.* Hudson, who made use of a Dutch chart of Spitzbergen, preserved the appellations, which soon became general; though two other names were also received, Spitzbergen and Newland, or King James his Newland. The two former names, Greenland and Spitzbergen, are still applied to the group. As to the real, or western Greenland, Hudson designates it by a name nearly identical with the Engroneland of the Zeni map. He calls it *Groneland.* We cannot understand his logbooks without bearing in mind that this *Groneland* is Greenland; whilst his *Greenland* is Spitzbergen.

To the south-east of Frisland, we meet on Hudson's chart *Bus Island*, the offspring of an illusion different from those which have occupied us so long. The Busse of Bridgewater, one of Frobisher's ships, had met in latitude 57° one of the immense icefields which annually drift out of Davis' Strait. Mistaking it for an island, they had given it the name of Busse island. For this country both Hudson and John Knight sought in vain.

When we round the southern point of Greenland and arrive on the western side, we pass from illusions,

conjectures, and misunderstandings, to good, though perhaps not yet entirely accurate, knowledge. The southern part of Greenland, up to 61°; and, again, the west coast between 64° and 73°, had been explored by Davis, and drawn by him for the Molyneux globe. From this globe, or from other copies of Davis' survey, the outline of these shores had passed into all good maps and charts. These shores appeared to Hudson in the almost correct shape which Davis had given them. The same may be said with regard to the American side of Davis' Strait, from 66° southwards. The mouths of the inlets, and the configuration of Cumberland Strait, especially, are drawn with great accuracy on the Molyneux globe. Hudson's Strait, which Hudson had then not yet explored, is by Davis called *The furious overfall;* an allusion to the currents in its mouth, which he likens to streams of water, violently rushing through the arches of a bridge. Frobisher's Strait is called *Lumley's Inlet;* for Davis thought that the real Strait of Martin Frobisher cut off Desolation from Greenland. Both these names, *The furious overfall*, and *Lumley's Inlet*, are to be found in Hudson's logbooks.

We would now gladly pass over all the other maps and charts of these regions which were at Hudson's disposal. But we must allude to two of them, which undoubtedly exercised some influence on his thoughts, namely, Cabot's planisphere and Ortelius' America. Of neither of these could we give a full idea by mere description. But the leading features can easily be described. Two points are to

be noticed in Ortelius' map of America. The first is the great fact which we have repeatedly mentioned —*the fact that Hudson's Bay is drawn upon that map*,—very imperfectly, it is true, but still clearly enough to convince contemporaries of its existence and later times of its anterior exploration. It is called by Ortelius *Baia dos Medaos*. Out of it leads, to the northward, into a broad western passage, a wide strait or stream, called Rio de Tormenta. The passage itself runs out into the Pacific, very nearly under the same degree where the western mouth of the real north-west passage is situated. This, however, has its origin in a singularly happy guess. No vessel had ever approached so high a latitude. We may, perhaps, also mention that *Grocland*, the Greenland of John of Kolno, is, by Ortelius, drawn as an island in the north-west passage.

As to Cabot's planisphere, two facts only need be mentioned. Part of the western shore of Davis' Strait was drawn upon it, even up to a higher latitude than Davis himself had reached on the American side of his strait. Further, it appears that in the adulterated copy of Cabot's map, which Clement Adams had caused to be engraved, Hudson's Strait was indicated as a passage across America, opening into the Pacific under about 40° or 45°. One of these adulterated maps was, in Hudson's time, hung up in Whitehall Gallery. It had been seen there in Elizabeth's reign by Hakluyt, and was afterwards inspected by Purchas. Attention had so frequently been drawn to this celebrated planisphere, by Gil-

bert, Hakluyt, and others, that a man like Hudson would not lose the opportunity of examining it.

The coasts of *Labrador*, *Newfoundland*, *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, and *New Brunswick* were, on the maps and charts of this period, laid down from Portuguese and French surveys. The importance of these shores consisted alone in the codfisheries. Great attention was therefore paid to the sandbanks and shoals, many of which had French names. The term of *Newfoundland* (Terre Neuve, Terra Nova) was somewhat vaguely applied to most of these fisheries. Juet, Hudson's companion in the third voyage, applies it to a part of coast as far south as 43° 20′.

The *New England* shore was drawn by Ortelius from a very imperfect Spanish delineation, into which some French materials had been introduced, altogether a most unsatisfactory combination. Hudson does not seem to have had a better chart at his disposal, although Juet, his companion, makes mention of Gosnold's voyage (1602). The very terms in which he speaks of it prove how vague was his knowledge. Finally, as regards the shores in the immediate neighbourhood of Hudson's river, we have repeatedly stated that they had been drawn by Estevan Gomez, copied by Ribero, and, from Ribero, with additions by other geographers. From such a copy, probably from a French compilation, Ortelius' outline of the region is taken. This process of copying from copies, which is known to be dangerous to pictures, could not fail to exercise a bad influence on geographical drawings; especially at that period, where all the

methods of mapmaking were yet in their infancy. Such is, in fact, the case here. The neighbourhood of Hudson's river on Ortelius' map is in outline, latitude and longitude so incorrect, that it requires the comparison with the sources and a knowledge of its history to convince us that it is based on a careful survey. It could offer no assistance to the navigator who proceeded to these coasts, and the whole labour of exploration had again to be undergone.

Hudson seems to have had at his disposal another chart of the same region, which is not by any means of greater accuracy, though also, and more directly, based on an original survey. In Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, is to be found a planisphere, drawn by Michael Lok, the well known geographer, who aided Frobisher with money and advice. This planisphere is partly based on the explorations of Verazzano, whose original chart of these coasts had fallen into Lok's hands. Verazzano had been in England after his great voyage of discovery; and is supposed to have joined the two vessels sent out from here in 1527, as we have had occasion to observe. A copy of Lok's planisphere is to be found in Mr. J. Winter Jones' edition of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*.

Lok's chart has one very remarkable feature. The continent of America appears, in the neighbourhood of Hudson's river, as a mere strip of land, on the other side of which the broad Pacific opens. Had Lok heard of the great Canadian lakes, or had such information even reached Verazzano? This singular notion, whatever its origin may have been, seems to

have led to Hudson's voyage along these shores, and to the discovery of Hudson's river.

We have now concluded the geographical review of the coasts which Hudson visited, and have shown how they appeared to him and to his contemporaries, before his own explorations increased the stock of knowledge, and rectified some of the numerous errors. We have only two more observations to add to this part of our subject.

The continuity of the American coast from 35° N. down to the strait of Magellan, was an undoubted and long established fact. The search for a strait must, therefore, be confined to the parts north of 35° on the eastern side. On the western side an accurate search had been made by the Spaniards, up to 45° N., and no strait from west to east had been discovered. A vague rumour was current, that somewhere in the north the American and the Asiatic shore are separated merely by a strait. This notion, which later explorations have confirmed, had its origin in a misinterpretation of a passage of Marco Polo. The celebrated *Strait of Anian*, which has been identified with the real strait of Cook and Behring, was originally a mere delusion. It was placed much too far southward; and the Spanish explorations along the western coast of North America, caused Hondius to doubt whether there really was a Strait of Anian. Some geographers, however, (Frobisher among them), entertained the very curious notion that the arctic parts of America formed a continuation of Asia, so that the Pacific ran out into a bay on its northern

side. Frobisher and his companions thought, that Frobisher's Strait, which they identified with the Strait of Anian, divided America from Europe.

In the foregoing pages of this introduction, such explanations have been furnished to the reader as will enable him to estimate the value of the journals in which Hudson's doings are recorded. An attempt has also been made to explain the antiquated geographical terms and notions which are to be found in these journals, so as to render them fully intelligible to the student of the present day. We might then consider our task as performed. But the fragmentary nature of the intelligence which we have collected, makes it binding upon us to assist the reader in arranging these fragments, and to clear away for him the difficulties which may arise from their mutual contradictions. We have, besides, some minor points to examine, and to gather those few biographical details which are scattered here and there in our sources. These are the objects to which the last pages of our introduction will be devoted. To give some kind of unity to these various inquiries, we are going to connect them as much as possible with Hudson's life. Still we would request the reader not to mistake these last pages for an intended biography of Henry Hudson.

The records which we have collected embrace Hudson's career, from the 19th of April, 1607, four days previous to his departure on the first north-eastern voyage, to the 21st of June, 1611, when he was exposed in an open skiff on the inland sea which

he had explored. His ultimate fate, concerning which but too little doubt can exist, has not been witnessed by human beings that lived to relate it. We know still less of his birth than of his death. His doings before the 19th of April, 1607, his family connections, his social position, are equally unknown to us. Of his private life we learn but one fact, namely, that a son of his, a boy named John, accompanied him on his voyages and died with him the same cruel death. The name which he has made illustrious is not uncommon either among the higher or the lower classes of this country. Though not borne by any one of the great territorial families, it belongs to a number of persons of good estate, especially in the northern counties. There are clergymen of the name of Hudson in almost every county in England. We have no means of knowing whether Henry Hudson himself was a gentleman by nature only, or also by birth. He is repeatedly called "Master Henry Hudson" in the logbooks; this would mean as much as "Henry Hudson, Esquire," does in our days, were it used of any one but a seaman. But in Hudson's case it may, and probably does, mean "Captain Henry Hudson." The whole question is, however, so trivial, that it is scarcely worth the space we have devoted to it, and it need not even be regretted that our sources leave it without an answer.

When we say that no event of Hudson's career, before the year 1607, is known, we put entirely aside the testimony of Adrian van der Donck. This author relates some events of our navigator's life,

which, if they were true, must have taken place before 1607; namely, a prolonged residence in Holland, and several years service on board Dutch vessels. But we have above shown that Van der Donck's account contains a whole tissue of idle inventions, put forward to prove the Dutch title to New Netherland, and that the notice here alluded to is probably among the number of these inventions.

Hudson's first real appearance on the scene is in 1607. The position in which we first meet him was a most honourable one. He was, in 1607, a captain in the service of the Muscovy Company, an association distinguished by the high aims it pursued, the services it had rendered to the country, and the eminence of the men who commanded its vessels. This company still bore the stamp impressed upon it by Sebastian Cabot. The evils against which the aid of Cabot's genius had once been invoked, had indeed long since been removed. There was now no fear of the privileges of the Hanse, nor any languor in English commerce. The vast enterprise of the Muscovy Company itself, and other similar undertakings for which that company had served as the model, were carrying England rapidly forward in that glorious career, in which she was destined to outstrip all other nations. The company had wisely adhered to Cabot's precepts. All their enterprise was still directed towards that quarter of the globe with which the name of Cabot is so intimately bound up, namely, the north. They had not even renounced the idea of finding a short northern route to China, although

the ample returns of the East India Company which traded by the ordinary route, rendered that discovery less urgently desirable than it had been in Cabot's time.

The Muscovy Company had also remained faithful to the new method which Sebastian Cabot had, for their benefit, introduced into the science of navigation. The *logbook*, the most admirable of all the inventions for the furtherance of that science, owed its origin and development to the Muscovy Company. How greatly navigation and geography are indebted to them for this service, appears clearly when we compare Verazzano's account of his voyage to Hudson's river, with Juet's journal of Hudson's expedition to the same coasts. We observe Verazzano, a man of great talent, making painful efforts to convey a clear meaning, and succeeding but indifferently; whilst Juet, a man of ordinary abilities, furnishes us with an account in which every step can be clearly traced. Nor is Verazzano's failure, or Juet's success, at all isolated. Verazzano's narrative is very nearly the best maritime record of its period; whilst Juet's journal is in every respect surpassed by many anterior logbooks. The difference between Juet and Verazzano, as far as it is to the disadvantage of the latter, consists not in their respective talent, but in the methods they made use of. Juet's journal is modelled on the logbooks of his predecessors, such as Barents, Davis, and others; and these men are followers of Willoughby, Chancellor, Burrough, Pet, and Jackman, and other captains of the Muscovy

Company. The captains of the company again were but carrying out one of the commands contained in the instructions given to Willoughby and Chancellor by Sebastian Cabot,[1] the real originator of the *logbook*.

One of the most remarkable features in these logbooks of the Muscovy Company was the attention paid to magnetic variations. This kind of research was first of all systematically pursued by the Muscovy Company, and doubtless at Cabot's instigation, although no positive proof of this fact has been preserved.

We have made the preceding statements in order to place Hudson's journals in their true light. These journals are very remarkable. Yet it would be unfair to exaggerate, at the expense of others, Hudson's merit in writing them. Were we to look at Hudson's journals separately, and not in connexion with other logbooks of the same period and of the same company, we might consider them as still

[1] "Item, that the marchants and other skilful persons in writing shall daily write, describe, and put in memoire the navigation of every day and night, with the points and observations of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the master and pilot of every ship to be put in writing, the captains generall assembling the masters together once every week (if winde and weather shall serve) to conferre all the observations and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appear wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and upon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion, determined to put the same into a common ledger, to remain as record for the company."—*Cabot's Instructions*, § 7. Hakluyt i, p. 226.

greater achievements than they really are. They contain, in fact, no original feature. It is only by mistake that the first observations of the dip and variation of the needle, at least among arctic navigators, have been attributed to Hudson. Such observations are to be found in Cabot's chart, in the logbooks of the men who followed his instructions, and also in the papers of those who imitated his followers. The system of Hudson's logbooks seems to have been adopted in obedience to a standing order of the Muscovy Company. It is not, however, our intention to depreciate these writings of our navigator. They possess every merit except that of originality, and are perfect models of their kind.

Another peculiar feature of the logbooks of the Muscovy Company was the great number of observations of the heavenly bodies made by their captains. In this respect Hudson offers a very bright example, and we might therefore expect a very great accuracy in his latitudes. But such accuracy is not to be found. This is owing, not to any want of care on his part, but to the imperfection of the instruments he made use of. It would be easy to describe these instruments in detail. There was published in London, in the very year when Hudson first started, a mariner's manual, by the celebrated John Davis. In that extremely remarkable volume we find, not only descriptions of all the mariners' instruments and explicit directions for their use, but also woodcut figures illustrating them, such as have been introduced into popular manuals of the present

day. The reason why we have refrained from giving extracts from that volume is obvious. Our introduction already exceeds the usual limits, and that subject does not strictly belong to it. We must therefore refer the reader to Davis' work, a copy of which is in the British Museum Library.

As to the accuracy or want of accuracy in Hudson's observations, it is in most cases impossible to test it. Most of the shores which he visited, such, for instance, as Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, Jan Mayen, Greenland, Hudson's Strait and Bay, are even now very imperfectly known. Even now errors of several minutes with respect to almost every part of these shores may, with too good reason, be suspected in the charts. We therefore lack the most important of all the means of testing the accuracy of anterior statements. A still greater difficulty is that nearly all the points mentioned by Hudson are for us little better than mere names. *The Islands of God's Mercy*, *Hold with Hope*, *Hakluyt's Headland*, and other names given by Hudson, are still to be found on the maps and charts; but whether the places so named by him and those now called so are really identical, cannot be established by any satisfactory evidence.

It is, moreover, certain, that some of Hudson's latitudes which we *can* check are wrong. Such is the case with regard to the most northern and most southern part of Spitzbergen, with regard to Cape Farewell and Cape Wolstenholme. The errors which *must* have been made in these instances amount to at least seven or eight minutes in each case. These posi-

tive proofs of incorrectness must render us suspicious even where such positive proofs are wanting. When we add to this the entire absence of longitudes in Hudson's journals, the deceptive influence exercised on the dead reckoning by the varying currents of the arctic regions, and the want of good modern charts, it becomes obvious that it would be a mere delusion were we to trace Hudson's course with preciseness, and to point out as certain the latitude and longitude of every locality mentioned by him.

We have, on this account, been extremely sparing with geographical notes to the text of Hudson's journals. The precise localities mentioned by him seem to us dubious in almost every instance, and it would scarcely have been right to enter into long discussions, with the conclusion that, after all, we are not able to settle the matter. It is not our intention to commit, in these last pages, the mistake that we have tried to avoid in our notes; and we shall here refrain from this kind of discussion, except in a few isolated instances. In defence of the somewhat exceptional course we are thus pursuing, we may perhaps be allowed to state it as our opinion, that the importance of a navigator's career consists, not so much in the coasts he touched, as in the new knowledge acquired and conveyed by him.

Many great men attempted, before and after Hudson, to solve the problem of a short northern route to China. But he surpasses all his predecessors and all his followers in the variety of means he employed to obtain that great end. This variety of devices

within a narrow scope, the very test of an energetic mind, was perhaps in part due to his singular and exceptional situation. Each of his predecessors had confined his efforts to only one direction, trying the chances that might be offered within a comparatively limited area, and these chances had thus been reduced to a small number of seeming probabilities. The probabilities would have appeared still fewer, had the explorations been made and chronicled with modern accuracy. As it was, there remained in every direction some delusive hopes, which it still required a renewed search to dispel. One of Hudson's many great merits consists in having proved several of these delusions to be what they were, and thus to have further limited the area of the search for a short road to China. The efforts of all those after him, like those of each of his predecessors, were then more confined than his own. Hudson himself tried within the last few years of his life, first the way across the North Pole, then the way by the north of Spitzbergen eastwards; he attempted to penetrate through the Nova Zembla group, and having failed to do so, undertook another expedition to the same quarter. He afterwards tried to cross what seemed a narrow isthmus, between the Atlantic and Pacific, in latitude 40°. He at last sailed far westward through his strait and bay, and perished in the midst of his hopes and plans. It is curious that he missed the only real chance, namely, the way through Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay. But, if we may conclude from what he had done up to his death, it is proba-

ble enough that he would not have left that way untried had he lived longer. He was one of those men who, whether successful or not, will not leave to any one after them the right to boast of having accomplished what *they* had despaired of.

Hudson's first attempt was to sail across the North Pole, a plan started in 1527 by Robert Thorne, but not yet acted upon by any one during the eighty years that had since passed. The voyage to which this idea gave rise is well described in Playse's log-book, where the reader will find all its details. A short summary of the main points may, however, prove useful.

Hudson left London the 23rd of April, 1607, with the intention of sailing across the North Pole to China and Japan. His course carried him to the Shetland Islands. Thence he sailed to the north-west, passing, as it seems, close by Iceland without perceiving it. He arrived on the 13th of June off the Greenland coast, in latitude 67° 30′, doubting whether the land he saw was an island, or the Engroneland, or Groneland of the Zeni. To this question he had received no satisfactory answer, even after six days' stay in that neighbourhood. It does not appear how great was his distance from the coast during these six days; but he certainly never landed. To a prominent cape, and to a mountain near it, he gave the names of *Young's Cape* and *Mount of God's Mercy*. These are, for us, nothing more than mere names. The coast of Greenland in 67° 30′ has never been well explored, and Hudson's own indication is

vague in the extreme. Hudson himself continued to be in doubt as to the real nature of the coast near him. He even thought it possible that it might be an island, at the north-eastern point of which he had arrived. He was thus exposed to an error very similar to the one committed by Davis, who considered the south of Greenland as an undiscovered island. Hudson's farther course along the east coast of Greenland also offered striking analogies with Davis' explorations along the western shore. Davis had lost sight of the coast, had unconsciously followed its bend, and had again fallen in with it.

In a like manner Hudson now left the Greenland shore with the intention of steering to Spitzbergen; and his north-eastern course brought him, after two days sailing, on the 21st June, 1607, again to the Greenland coast, which on its eastern side trends to the north-east, as on its western side it trends to the north-west. He again reached the Greenland coast in latitude 73°, and called his new discovery *Hold with Hope*, a name still to be found on maps of the arctic regions, although it would be impossible to point out the exact locality to which it was first given.

Following his north-eastern direction Hudson tried, during the last days of June, to sail northwards, wherever he might be able to do so. But he seems to have been prevented from progressing towards the pole by the well-known ice barrier between Greenland and Spitzbergen, which has been so well described by Dr. Scoresby. This barrier generally

forms at that time of the year an undulating line between the 74th and 80th degrees of latitude, reaching furthest to the south near the Greenland coast, and being nearest to the pole in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen. Hudson was the first modern navigator who sailed along this barrier. His logbook does not, however, contain a sufficient number of data to enable us to trace the line of the ice as it was in June 1607.

When Hudson was approaching the Spitzbergen coast, he looked out for a cape, discovered by Barents, and called by him Vogel Hoeck, a point which was, as it seems, indicated on the chart used by Hudson.[1] This point is probably identical with the *Vogel Hoeck* of the later and more accurate maps of the country, though such identities of *name* are not always sufficient proofs of identity of *place*. It would be interesting to settle this question, but this cannot be done from the materials now in existence.

Supposing that identity to exist, we find Hudson on the 28th of June, 1607, near the western point of Charles' Island.[2] For the Vogel Hoeck of the later Dutch maps is the same cape which Dr. Scoresby calls Fair Foreland, and which he places,

[1] Vogel Hoeck is expressly mentioned by Hudson as the point he was looking out for. The point is also to be found on Hondius' chart. The locality where the Vogel Hoek of later maps (English charts call it Fair Foreland) is situated, namely, the north-west point of Charles' Islands, seems in every respect to agree with what we know of the Vogel Hoeck of Barents.

[2] Charles' Island is the most western of the forelands by which the mainland of Spitzbergen is surrounded.

according to his own survey, in 78° 53′ N., 9° 17′ E. The last two days of June were spent off the coast of Charles Island. From the 1st to the 6th of June, Hudson seems to have sailed backwards and forwards in the Foreland Fiord, between Charles' Island and the mainland of Spitzbergen. This at least is the most consistent result that can be derived from his notes, in which every kind of vagueness is accumulated. The chart he used was very imperfect, he was contending with ice and fog, and his observations of latitude, though there are three in five days, are not thoroughly reliable. But in spite of these drawbacks, the above mentioned course seems to be marked out with sufficient certainty and clearness. Hudson then sailed into the Foreland Fiord on its northern side, the 1st of July, and left it, on its southern side, the 6th of the same month, having passed the intervening six days in the Fiord. From the 9th to the 11th of June, Hudson sailed back, on the opposite, or outward side of Charles' Island, the distance he had sailed within the Fiord. He continued this northern course on the 12th, and arrived on the 13th, off the north-eastern part of Spitzbergen; that part of the country, to which Barents and his companions had more particularly applied the name of *Nieuland*, or *the land under 80 degrees*. From the 13th to the 15th of July, Hudson sailed eastwards along the northern coast, exploring some of its fiords, islands and harbours, and giving the names of Hakluyt's Headland, Colin's Cape, and Whale Bay, to three localities. Of these names the first only has been preserved on charts. Whether

the point now so called, and the one so named by Hudson, are absolutely identical, cannot be shown from the existing evidence. It does not appear whether any of the sailors who accompanied Hudson afterwards revisited Spitzbergen, and then recognised the points marked out by him. This would be the only satisfactory manner of establishing such an identity of place, as latitudes, longitudes, and dead reckoning, as well as the charts based upon them, are all equally deceptive.

The 23rd of July, Hudson was by *observation* in latitude 80° 23′, the highest observation ever made by him. After two more days of north-eastern sailing, he reckoned himself to be in latitude 81°. Much doubt has, with good reason, been thrown on this assertion of Henry Hudson. The localities which he described do not bear it out, and considerable mistakes are likely to have occurred to a man judging by his dead reckoning only, without knowing the currents that set in those parts. Sir Edward Parry vainly tried, in this very region, to make head against a violent north-easterly current, which eventually frustrated his boat-sledge expedition towards the North Pole.

This current may have deceived our navigator. On the 16th he believed that he saw land, "trending north in our sight, by means of the clearness of the weather, stretching far into 82°, and by the bowing or shewing of the skie much further." It is unfortunately now impossible to say how far he was right or wrong in these estimates; nor to point out the exact spot he

reached, and it would lead to nothing were we to build some futile theory on the loose evidence at our disposal. Hudson's own conclusion was: "that between 78 degrees and a half and 82 degrees by this way, there is no passage"; a conclusion which is practically correct, though geographically somewhat exaggerated.

He returned westwards on the 16th of July, was the same day near Collin's Cape, and seems to have rounded the north-eastern peninsula of Spitzbergen the following or the next day. The 20th of July, he had already sailed some distance down the west coast, and was entering Bell Sound, in latitude 77° 26′, which he explored. From the one-and-twentieth to the five-and-twentieth, Hudson seems to have hesitated, and to have been uncertain about his future movements. We find him steering in various directions without any apparent object; nor can this be wondered at, considering how new Spitzbergen was to him. The chart he had with him indicated scarcely more than the mere existence of these remarkable islands.

On the five-and-twentieth we find Hudson near the west coast, in 78°. He then again sailed northwards, and was on the seven-and-twentieth near Collin's Cape, one of the points of the north coast, discovered by him ten or eleven days before. The same day he again returned to the south; having first ascertained that the ice barrier between Spitzbergen and Greenland was as firm as it had been in June. Otherwise he would have tried to pass through it, and to return home by the north of Greenland, through

Davis' Strait. The latter plan proves his ignorance of the real conformation of Greenland; a fact upon which we have already had ample occasion to dwell.

Thus hemmed in on three sides, he was again obliged to return to the south. He sailed southwards along the whole west coast of the group; from 80° to 76° 30′, during the last days of July. Having been on the 28th, by observation, in latitude 76° 36′, Hudson accounted himself, on the thirtieth, in latitude 76°. He tells us, however, at the same time, that he was then near the coast, which he describes as mountainous. Now Spitzbergen does not reach down farther than to 76° 30′, and Hudson's latitude was therefore faulty. This error was certainly in part due to the currents to which we have alluded. Yet it cannot have entirely arisen from that source. Had the observation of the 28th been correct, and had Hudson really then been only a few miles from the southern point of Spitzbergen, this fact could not possibly have escaped him during the two days he remained in that neighbourhood. We then arrive at the painful but complete conviction, that his observation also was faulty. It is of the greater importance to ascertain this fact, because few only of Hudson's latitudes can be tested in a similar manner.

Having left Spitzbergen, Hudson continued his course, and arrived on the 31st of July off Bear or Cherie Island. The home voyage, after the departure from that spot, was accomplished in a month and a half. The 15th of August Hudson reached the Faroer Islands; and exactly a month afterwards he

arrived at Tilbury in the Thames. So much we learn from Playse's logbook. But we find too good reason to regret the loss of Hudson's own journal, from which the following notice[1] has been extracted:

"And in ranging homewards he discovered an island lying in seventy-one degrees, which he called Hudson's Tutches."

We have, in our note to this passage, already observed that there is but one island in latitude 71° which can here be meant, namely, *Jan Mayen;* and that Jan Mayen in fact is identical with *Hudson's Touches.* This opinion is still further confirmed by a document which had then escaped our notice. We have adverted to the claims to the first discovery of Spitzbergen advanced by the English and the Dutch. These rival claims gave rise to armed struggles in the Greenland waters, and in consequence of them, to applications for protection, together with bitter protests, and complaints addressed by the aggrieved persons to their respective governments. Some of these protests of the Muscovy Company have been preserved in the State-paper office; and in one of them we find the following passage:

"Further, William Johnsonne Millworth, captain of the *Angell of Horne,* certified us that the States had given the country of Greenland unto the Zealanders, and *Hudson's Touches,* and those islands adjoining, unto the Hollanders to fish therein, warning them that they should not come within the privileges of each other, and that they were animated and urged by the States themselves for their fishing voyage this yeare 1618, otherwise they had not attempted it."

[1] P. 146.

This testimony of Johnsonne Millworth is borne out by the facts of the case. The States General of the United Provinces had, in 1617, granted the fisheries of Jan Mayen to the Hollanders, excluding the Zealanders from them. It is, besides, very remarkable that we find on Jan Mayen, almost exactly in latitude 71°, a point called by Dr. Scoresby *Rudson's* point. Anyone acquainted with the writing of the period, will at once remember how easily an H of that time could be read as an R. The point was, we may say certainly, called Hudson's point. Another locality on Jan Mayen, namely, its north-eastern cape, is called *Young's Foreland.* James Young, one of Hudson's companions, was the man who had first espied the Greenland coast. The north-eastern cape of Jan Mayen, is the very point which must have first presented itself to Hudson's crew as the ship was sailing home from Bear Island; and the man who first saw the Greenland shore was the most likely to forestall here also, his less zealous, or less sharp-sighted companions. There is no reason why the name of *Hudson's Touches* should not be replaced on maps and charts; and the now meaningless *Rudson's point,* might also be fairly restored to its original meaning, and be called *Hudson's point.* The islands adjoining Jan Mayen, are Egg Island to the south, and a number of small rocky islets scattered along the coasts.

Should the writer of the present pages have succeeded beyond his hopes in placing the geographical notions of Hudson's time, and the anterior endeavours in search of a passage, clearly before the reader's

eye; it would then be easy to explain to the reader the original plan of Hudson's first voyage, and the ideas which the experience collected in the course of it, developed in his mind.

Hudson first started with the plan of sailing straight across the North Pole, by the north of the Engroneland of the Zeni. He found that land stretching farther eastwards than he expected; and joining it, he found a firm barrier of ice, which offered no opening in its whole breadth between Greenland and Spitzbergen. This barrier Hudson sailed along, vainly spying out for a passage to the Pole. When he had reached the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen, he knew well that he was near the country discovered by Barents in 1596, and he was looking out for some of the points noted by that navigator. But though Barents' explorations had been so far useful to Hudson, they had not been chronicled with sufficient accuracy, to enable Hudson to recognize beforehand the real conformation of Spitzbergen. There seemed to exist a hope of passing through what has since been proved to be a firm body of land; or at least by the north of it. These attempts Hudson made; and he left no means untried which seemed to offer a hope of succeeding in this really hopeless undertaking. When he had at last recognized how hopeless it was, he once more sailed northwards to the great ice barrier, with the intention of finding a way by the north of Engroneland to the west; and of thus entering Davis' Strait by a northern route. He soon perceived that this undertaking, too, offered no chance of success, at

least, if begun in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen; so he sailed again to the south. It is not unlikely that he renewed the attempt in a lower latitude, and nearer Greenland, on his homeward voyage; and that he arrived in this manner in the somewhat too westerly longitude, in which Jan Mayen and the Faroer Islands are situated. The discovery of the former island was made by chance.

In the course of this voyage Hudson made two observations, the one interesting, the other of the highest importance. The first observation is that of the changing colour of the sea near Spitzbergen. He found it sometimes blue, sometimes green, sometimes dark, sometimes clear and transparent. "The colour of the Greenland sea varies from ultramarine blue," says Dr. Scoresby, "to olive green; and from the most pure transparency to striking opacity. These appearances are not transitory but permanent; not depending on the state of the weather, but on the quality of the water. Hudson, when he visited this quarter in 1607, noticed the changes in the colour of the sea, and made the observation that the sea was blue where there was ice, and green where it was most open. This circumstance, however, was merely accidental."

The other observation is that of the existence of a vast number of whales and morses in the waters Hudson had visited. This observation raised Spitzbergen and Jan Mayen Island to the importance which they have since assumed.

Hudson's second voyage offers fewer subjects for comment than the first. Its plan is very simple.

Having found by experience the impractibility of Robert Thorne's scheme, Hudson now followed in the track of those of his predecessors who had tried to find a way to China by the north-east. But he was acquainted with their failures as well as with their hopes, and he knew the difficulties which a passage through or beyond the Nova Zembla group, and then through the Kara Sea, presented. Three chances for passing beyond or through Nova Zembla seemed to exist, namely, to sail through Vaigats Straits, south of Nova Zembla; to pass by the north of the group, as Barents had done; and thirdly, to pass through the group by way of Costin Shar, a bay which appeared on Barents' chart as a strait. Hudson was ignorant of the existence of the real straits between those islands. His plan then was either to go by the north or by the south of Nova Zembla, or through Costin Shar. Should he thus succeed in entering the Sea of Kara (which he calls the Sea of Tartary), he would, according to his notions, have had two farther stages to reach or pass; first, the mouth of the Oby; then Cape Tabin. He knew that this would not be easy, but he was fully prepared to encounter the dangers of what he considered as a short though severe struggle. Beyond Cape Tabin the way to China seemed to him perfectly smooth.

The second expedition, then, consists of the following parts. Hudson's voyage out until he arrived in latitude 75° 24′, between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla (April 22nd to June 11th, 1608): his vain attempts to pass to the north-east beyond the Nova

Zembla group, and his struggles with the ice, where he sometimes gains, sometimes loses a few minutes of latitude (June 18th to 23rd): the voyage southwards along the group, but not always near its shore (June 24th to 29th): exploration of Costin Shar, and discovery that it is a bay, not a strait (June 29th to July 6th): the voyage home (July 6th to August 26th). As to the voyage through the Vaigats Strait, the chance still left open in that quarter, Hudson says that for it he was not "fitted to trie or prove."

We call the reader's particular attention to a passage near the end of the logbook, entered under the 7th of August. Hudson must at that time have been about in latitude 62° or 63°, not very far from the south of Greenland, and therefore perfectly able to enter into Davis' Strait before the close of the season. He says that he for a moment intended to do so, in order to sail a hundred leagues either into *Lumley's Inlet* (Frobisher's Strait) or into *The Furious Overfall* (Hudson's Strait); but that he sacrificed his ambition to his duty. This notice, curious in itself, is doubly so as an answer to the calumny of Luke Foxe, who attributes to Colburne the plan for Hudson's fourth voyage; whilst it here clearly appears that already in 1608, two years before the fourth voyage, Hudson's mind was bent upon the schemes which that undertaking was intended to realize.

The number and variety of the papers which illustrate the third voyage make our task of introducing them a somewhat difficult one. Besides, since the

first pages of the present introduction were printed, a most important addition has been made to the documents in our collection; consisting of the letter of President Jeannin to Henry IV of France,[1] which will be found in the Appendix. It very fortunately happens, that the observations which we shall have to offer as an introduction to that state paper, will at the same time throw a light on the circumstances in which Hudson was placed during his stay in Holland previous to his departure for the third expedition.

The *Négociations* of President Jeannin, from which our extract is taken, are reckoned among the classical *Mémoires Historiques;* a class of writings equally distinguished by the position of the authors, the elegance of their language, and the importance of the information they furnish. In all these respects President Jeannin's *Négociations* occupy a very high rank. The main portion of that work consists of letters addressed to Henry IV of France, in the years 1608 and 1609, mostly from the Hague and from Antwerp. Jeannin had been sent to the Netherlands to negociate, together with the representatives of other nations, a treaty of peace, or at least a truce between Spain and those of its revolted provinces which had long, in fact, enjoyed that independence

[1] This document is indicated in Mr. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk's *Bijdraegen tot de Geschiedenis onzer Kolonizatie in Noord-America.* We have above (p. lvii) adverted to this book; but from memory only, and not with sufficient justice. It is very gratifying to be able now to acknowledge our obligations to that remarkable work, which compresses a vast amount of new research into an incredibly small space.

which was now to be confirmed by a treaty. It was in the midst of this negociation, in January 1609, that an indirect intercourse was established between Hudson and Jeannin. To explain the origin and issue of that intercourse, as well as the motives of the men who acted as mediators between the navigator and the diplomatist, we must throw a brief glance at the political movements in which Jeannin was mixed up, and especially at the difficulties which he had to overcome in negociating the treaty.

These difficulties did not alone, nor perhaps even mainly, consist in the pride of the Spaniards. Their foes, the inhabitants of the northern provinces, were far from united in the wish to make peace, at least on the conditions that could then be obtained. The feelings of the majority in the free provinces were not unlike those which lately animated the whole of Italy during the negociation of the peace of Zurich, when it was considered a disgrace to secure Lombardy from the House of Hapsburg at the price of the confirmed slavery of another and more important district. But in the Netherlands the position, though similar was not alike. There existed in some of the free provinces a peace party, powerful in every respect except in numbers, which was animated by selfish motives, such as have not come to light in the late Italian struggles. This peace party consisted principally of the powerful families which had made the civic dignities in the towns of Holland hereditary among themselves; who composed, as delegates from these towns, the estates of Holland, and who

thus swayed the United Provinces. They were strongly interested in preventing the departure of the rich and active Belgian emigrants, whom a continued and successful war might have carried home in triumph. They also wished that Antwerp should not again rise to its former importance. The restoration of the other parts of Belgium would likewise have destroyed the preeminence of Holland. Peace and the *status quo* were therefore their great objects. This peace party, which was headed by Oldenbarnevelt and counted Hugo Grotius among its leaders, is better known as the Republican or Arminian party. Republican it was called because it desired to keep the rule of the country to itself. The name of Arminius had been adopted a few years before, when that divine had published some maxims of church government suited to the tastes and interests of these *Republicans*. The Arminian doctrine, which also contained some theological principles opposed to strict Calvinism, became the standard round which the *Republicans* gathered. It counted scarcely any adherents except among them.

The opposition of the Republicans to strict Calvinism, was no accidental circumstance in their policy. The party whom they opposed was headed by the Belgian emigrants, who desired to continue the war until their own country should be freed from the Spanish yoke; and again, at the head of the Belgian emigrants, stood the Calvinistic clergymen; among whom such men as Peter Plancius, and others of a similar stamp, appeared. These divines and preachers

exercised a most powerful influence over the great mass of the people, who were besides naturally opposed to the "municipal families," whose tyranny and arrogance they hated. The Belgian party found another ally besides these lower classes, in the Prince Maurice of Orange, the most illustrious warrior of the age, whose every hope was connected with the continuance of the struggle. Thus the war party was generally termed the Calvinistic, or the Orange party.

The two political parties which we have tried to sketch, vied with each other to obtain Henry Hudson's services. This happened in the following manner. We have above spoken of the first efforts made at the end of the sixteenth century by the Dutch, to establish transatlantic commerce; and we have seen that they entirely obeyed in this respect the impulse given by the Belgian emigrants. A few years had been sufficient to produce the most important consequences from these beginnings; and it was soon apparent that transatlantic commerce would form the foundation of the prosperity of the Dutch Republic.

It was then most strongly the interest of the ruling Arminian party not to let so powerful a lever remain in the hands of the Belgians, their antagonists. The great chief of the Arminians, John Oldenbarnevelt, therefore contrived to place the direction of the East India trade in the hands of his own partisans; and he founded for this purpose in 1602, the privileged East India Company, the directors of which were, almost exclusively, taken from among the so-called

Republicans, and which, in after times, always made common cause with them.

This East India Company had a privilege to trade by the ordinary route, round the Cape of Good Hope. Many of the Belgians, on the other hand, still adhered to their own old scheme, of which Peter Plancius was the representative, namely, that of a short north-eastern route to China. They besides endeavoured to establish a West India Company, under the direction of William Usselincx, and on the principle of which we have spoken above, namely, that of driving the Spaniards from America, and out of the American waters; and so to cripple their resources. This idea, and still more the aim for the sake of which it was entertained, were strongly at variance with the wishes and interests of the peace party.

These indications will enable us to place in chronological order, all the data that are bearing on Hudson's sojourn in Holland. We must then leave it to the reader to connect these pieces of evidence, and to form out of them a complete picture, which may easily be done by supplying such 'details,' historical and local, as can be procured in abundance from various sources. As to our own chronological arrangement, it will perhaps be best not to confine it to Hudson's stay in Holland, but to extend it over the other main points of the third voyage. We give for this purpose the following synoptical table.

FACTS.	DATES.	DOCUMENTS.	PAGES.
Hudson called by the privileged East India Company	Uncertain	Jeannin	
Hudson's arrival in Holland	Unc.(1608)[1]	— . —	247
Conferences with the East India Company begin	Uncertain (1608)	Jeannin	247
Personal intercourse with Plancius begins	1608[1]	Treatise of Iver Boty	230
Conversations with Plancius	Uncertain	Hessel Gerritz	181, 186, 187, 191
Intercourse with Jodocus Hondius	Uncertain	Iver Boty, Hondius' map	230
Hudson's proposals rejected for the present by the E.I.Comp. Arrangements for employment in 1610	Jan. 1609	Jeannin	249
Belgians seize the opportunity. Le Maire acquainted with Hudson. Le Maire proposes to Jeannin to form a rival E. I. Comp. under Henry IV's protection, and to engage Hudson as captain	Jan. 1609	Jeannin	250
Peter Plancius calls on Jeannin	Jan. 1609	Jeannin	250
E. I. Comp. alarmed by Le Maire's opposition, determine to send Hudson at once	Jan. 1609	Jeannin	253
Usselincx's intercourse with Jeannin	Jan. 1609	Jeannin	325
Zealand Chamber refuses to send Hudson	Uncertain	Lambrechtsen	164
Amsterdam Chamber do so by themselves	Uncertain	Lambrechtsen	164
H. starts with two vessels, the *Good Hope* and the *Half Moon*	Apr.6,1609 Apr.6,1609	Lambrechtsen, Brodhead	cciii, 254
Half Moon a Vlie Boat	— —	Van Meteren	147
Reaches the North Cape	May 5,1609	Juet, v. Meteren	45, 147
Voyage to Nova Zembla, mutiny, returns	May 5-14	V. Meteren	147, 148
Arrival at the North Cape on their return	May 19	Juet	46
Arrival at Faroe Islands	May 30	Juet, v. Meteren	48, 149
Arrival near Nova Scotia coast	June 22	Juet	53
They land (44° 1′) to cut a fore mast; quarrels with natives	July 19	Juet,v.M.,De Laet	60, 149, 155
They arrive at Barnstaple peninsula	May 2	J. v. M., De L.	64, 150, 155
They arrive in 37° 45′ (Virginia Coast)	May 13	Juet, v. Meteren.	69, 150
Chesapeake Bay	Aug. 27	Juet, De Laet	73, 156

[1] This date (1609) may, however, according to the calendar then in use, refer to the first months of 1609. Hudson's arrival in Holland can therefore not positively be stated to have taken place before January 1609.

FACTS.	DATES.	DOCUMENTS.	PAGES.
Delaware Bay - - - -	Aug. 28	Juet, De Laet	74, 157
Hudson's River - - - -	Sept. 2	Juet, v. M., De Laet	76, 150, 157
In latitude 42° 18′ Hudson lands	Sept. 17	Juet, Hudson, D.L.	84, 150, 157
	Sept. 18	Juet, De Laet	85, 161
Scene of Drunkenness - -	Sept. 20	Juet, Heckewelder, Barton	85, 174, 179
Leave Hudson's River - -	Oct. 4	Juet, v. Meteren	92, 151
Dissensions during the voyage home - - - - -	— —	V. Meteren	151
Arrival in England - - -	Nov. 7	Juet, v. Meteren	93, 152
Hudson retained in England -	Jan. 1610	V. Meteren	153
Return of the *Half Moon* - -	July 15, 1610	Brodhead	S. *inf.* p.

To complete our introduction to the third voyage, we have to add some remarks on several isolated points, that either present a particular interest or require special attention.

We find in Lambrechtsen, that Hudson was sent out by the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company, against the will of the Middelburg Chamber. The *Chambers* of which the Dutch East India Company was composed had each a separate existence. The whole company, in fact, did not form so homogeneous a body as English companies of the present day, but may rather be called a confederation of several societies. Each of the provinces along the sea shore had a *chamber* or society of its own, governed by its own committee of directors. Out of these provincial committees a central council of seventeen members was chosen, who are generally termed *The Seventeen.* The action of this general council resembled that of the delegates of a political confederacy, and did not destroy the individual action of the provincial chambers. To say more on this

complicated question would lead us too far. We must, however, advert to another statement of Lambrechtsen, which had unfortunately been omitted in the English translation we made use of for our extracts from his book. This statement is contained in one of his foot notes, and is couched in the following words: "In the minutes of the Council of the XVII this yacht (the yacht Hudson sailed in) is called the *Good Hope*."[1] From these words we learn, first that Lambrechtsen used an original MS. description of Hudson's voyage, which he found inserted in the *Minutes of the Seventeen*. We further learn that the name of Hudson's vessel was the *Good Hope*. It is, however, stated by an equally unquestionable authority that Hudson's vessel was called the *Half Moon*.[2] The most natural solution of this apparent contradiction is, that Hudson had with him two vessels, the one called the *Half Moon*, the other the *Good Hope*. It is not known what became of the latter vessel. She may have returned after the mutiny near Nova Zembla. The main part of the voyage was certainly performed in the *Half Moon* alone.

The crew of the vessel—or vessels—under Hudson's orders consisted partly of Dutchmen, partly of Englishmen. As to the Dutchmen, there is strong reason to believe that they were sailors in the regular service of the East India Company, whose engage-

[1] In de Notulen van de Vergaderinge van de XVII wordt dit Jagt de *Goede Hoop* gendemt.

[2] Brodhead, from a ship book found in the East India Archives at Amsterdam.

ment had been made without Hudson's intervention. We learn that Hudson, after his return, requested the East India Company to exchange some of his sailors for others, so as to enable him to start again with a more obedient crew. This request would never have been made had these men been entirely dependent upon him. Their mutinous spirit and their quarrels with their English companions must be attributed to his want of control over them. Among the Dutch sailors was also Hudson's mate, as Van Meteren expressly states. We have already observed, that several writers have thought, that Robert Juet was that Dutch mate; and we have added that this is *not* our opinion. This is still further confirmed by the following fact: Juet always speaks of himself in the *first* person. He has more than once occasion to do so; he was an able astronomer; and we find him repeatedly calculating latitudes by the height of the stars; a kind of observation which Hudson himself seems never to have attempted. Now Juet tells us distinctly that "the master's mate" explored the most northern part of Hudson River, and that the "master and his mate" "succeeded in making one of the Indians drunk. The person here twice referred to was then not the author of the Journal. Juet was, what he appears from all the other circumstances to have been, namely, an Englishman. John Colman, also one of Hudson's former companions, is the only other Englishman on board the *Half Moon* whose name is mentioned in our sources. It is unknown what rank these two men held on board the vessel.

Hudson in 1609 originally intended to continue the north-eastern search begun by him the year before. His plan probably was to pass through Vaigats Strait; a route which he had been unable to follow in 1608. He had already arrived near Nova Zembla when a mutiny broke out among his crew. They refused to proceed any further through the ice. After some discussions, it was decided that they were to sail westward, and to search for a passage through America, in latitude 40°. "This idea," says Van Meteren, from whom we learn these facts, "had been suggested to Hudson by some letters and maps which his friend Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia; and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean by the north of the southern English colony (Virginia)." We have already stated that, in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, a map is to be found, copied by Lok from Verazzano, in which the American continent in the latitude here indicated appears as a narrow strip of land separating the Atlantic from the Pacific. This was most probably one of the maps sent by Smith. Another one of his maps may have been based on Ribeiro's planisphere, which indicates in those parts some broad openings in the coast. John Smith had moreover lived a long time among the American Indians. The tribes of all these immense tracts of country are known to belong to the same stock, and to entertain friendly or hostile intercourse. By them Smith must have been informed of the existence of the great lakes, which may well have been repre-

sented to him as parts of the ocean. Hessel Gerritz at least received from that same source, though indirectly, this same deceptive intelligence.[1] These materials seem to have been combined in Smith's communications, so as to suggest the existence of an easy passage through the American continent, opening on its eastern side somewhere between the 37th and 41st degrees of latitude. The search for such a passage is the only purpose that can be ascribed to Hudson's rambling course along those shores.

Juet makes no mention of the voyage to Nova Zembla, nor of the mutiny, in which perhaps he played a part. He suppresses in a most artful manner the events of the memorable fortnight, from the fifth to the nineteenth of May. But under the latter date, *Tuesday, the nineteenth of May*, 1609, we find in his Journal a notice which amply compensates us for this loss. The following are his words: *Then we observed the sunne having a slacke.* We have in our note to this passage, tried to show that a *slack* means a *spot;* and that therefore sun spots were observed on board the *Half Moon* more than a year and a half before what is generally considered the *first* observation of that phenomenon.

The next remark which we have to make applies to a passage in Juet's logbook, where there seems to be either a clerical or a typographical error. We allude to his entry under the eighteenth of September: "In the after-noone our master's mate went on land with an old savage, a governor of the countrey,

[1] P. 185.

etc." Instead of *our master's mate*, we must read *our master*, locality and circumstances being exactly the same which are described by De Laet as belonging to Hudson's visit on shore. Juet's account contains no other mention of that visit. These are all the prominent points we had to note.

To conclude this part of our introduction, we have but to add a few observations on what happened after Hudson's return and on the consequences of his third voyage. The circumstances of his return, the strange embargo laid upon his person by the English government, and his correspondence with the East India Company, are related by Van Meteren. Nothing can be, nor need be, added to the details which he furnishes. The *Half Moon* returned to Amsterdam in July 1610, as will be seen in the note from Mr. Brodhead's work, which is to be found in the appendix to the present volume.

William Smith, the author of a very defective history of New York, says that a right to occupy the banks of Hudson river was sold to the Dutch by the discoverer. This story, which is not only untrue, but is contrary to all possibility of international law, has been invented to furnish a connecting link between Hudson's discovery for the Dutch, and the colonization of those very quarters by that same nation. Such a connecting link exists, but it is of a different nature from the one imagined by Smith.

It might at first sight have been expected that the directors of the East India Company would have followed up the discovery made in one of their vessels.

Nothing, however, was further from their thoughts; North American trade was advocated by the Belgians, their political adversaries. This was a sufficient motive for them not to favour it; and the East India Company never claimed any of the advantages which Hudson's discovery soon began to yield. But some other Dutchmen, following in Hudson's footsteps, began to trade in furs with the natives, and then to build a fort on Manhattan island, in Hudson river. The fort became the germ of a village, the village became a town. The town was first called New Amsterdam. Its name now is New York.

The last events narrated by Van Meteren took place in January, 1610. Then already it was rumoured that Hudson would again be sent out by an English company. Soon afterwards an arrangement of this kind must have been definitively made. The names of Hudson's three principal employers are to be found in Purchas' *Pilgrimage*.[1] They are all now inscribed on some well known localities in the Arctic regions. Sir Thomas Smith's name has been given to what was called a *sound*, north of Baffin's Bay; but is now known to be a strait, leading into the northern waters. Cape Wolstenholme and Cape Diggs form the entrance to Hudson's Bay.

The plan which gave rise to this fourth voyage had long been present to Hudson's mind. Already, in September 1608, he had intended to search for a passage through the strait which he was now going

[1] The names of *all* his employers will be found in the extract from the charter granted to Button's employers, at the end of the appendix.

to explore. He had earnestly discussed that same plan with Peter Plancius in 1608 and 1609, and had been confirmed in his resolution by George Weymouth's experience, which Plancius had communicated to him; although this passionate advocate of the north-eastern search had tried to dissuade Hudson from his north-western undertaking. On the seventeenth of April, 1610, Hudson started from London. As to the events of his voyage, they are described in the different papers that have come down to us; and we have tried to render these documents more clearly intelligible by our notes. Still there is so much difficulty in the geographical investigation of this voyage, that we cannot hope to make the reader's path quite easy, even by the assistance which our notes may afford, and by the synoptical arrangement of the materials, to which the following table is devoted.

FACTS.	DATES.	DOCUMENTS.	PAGES.
Names of Adventurers. Vessel		Purchas	140
Departure	April 17, 1610	H., Pr.	93, 96
Colburn sent back	Ap. 22, 1610	H., Pr., Foxe	93, 98, 180
Westman Islands	May 15	H., Pr.	94, 98
Off Iceland	May 15, 30	H., Pr.	94, 99
Breda Bay (Lousie Bay), Hudson's letter	May 30	H. H.'s letter. Pr. Purch.	94, 99, 133, 140
Departure from Iceland	June 1	H., Pr.	94, 99
Greenland E. 65° (Groneland)	June 4, 5	H., Pr.	94, 99
Greenland E. 63° (Frobisher's Strait)	June 9	H.	94
Cape Farewell (Desolation)	June 15	H., Pr., Purch.	95, 99, 140
Greenland S.W. 60° 42' (Desolation)	June 20	H.	95
Resolution Island	June 24	H., Pr.	95, 100
Ungava Bay, S.E. 59° 16'	July 5	H.	95
Mutiny	July 6, 7 (?)	Pr.	101
Akpatok (Desire Provoketh)	July 8	H., Pr.	95, 102
Saddle Back Islands (God's Mercy)	July 11	H., Pr.	96, 103
Jackman's Sound	(?)	Pr.	103

FACTS.	DATES.	DOCUMENTS.	PAGES.
Ungava B. S.W. 58° 50′ - -	July 16	H.	96
Long Island (Hold with Hope) -	July 19	H.	96
Southern shore of Hudson's Strait, from Hope Advance Bay to Deception Bay (Magna Britannia, Prince Henry's Cape, King James Cape) - - -	July 20-31	H., Pr.	96, 97, 104, 105
Northern shore, N. of Charles Is.	Aug. 1	H., Pr.	97,105,106
Salisbury Island - - -	Aug. 2	H., Pr.	97, 106
Cape Wolstenholme, Cape Diggs	Aug. 3	H., Pr.	97, 106
Voyage down the east coast of Hudson's Bay - - - -	Aug. 4, Oct. 31	Pr.	105-110
Juet's trial - - - - -	Sept. 10	Wydhouse	136-138
Wintering in James Bay - -	Nov.3,1610, Jue.18,1611	Pr., Hess. Gerr.	110-116, 184-7,192
Antiscorbutic medicine - -	Dec. 1610	Pr., Purch.	114, 141
Visit of a savage - - -	(?)	Pr.,Purch.,H.Gr.	114, 142, 187, 193
Green's antecedents - - -	— —	Pr.	111-113
Departure from winter quarters -	Jue.18,1611	Pr.	116
Conspiracy—Hudson's exposure	Jue.21,1611	Pr.,Purch.,H.Ge.	117-123, 142, 184, 193
Voyage back to Diggs' Island -	June 21-July 25	Pr., Purch.	123-126, 142
Fight with Esquimaux near Diggs' Island - - - -	July 29	Pr., Purch.	127-131, 143
Voyage home - - - - -	July 30-Sept. 6	Pr., Purch.	131-135, 144
Return - - - - - -	Sept.6,1611	Purch., H. Ger.	144, 188, 193
Imprisonment of conspirators -	(?)	H. Ger.	188, 193
Button sent out in search of Hudson - - - - -	— —	H. Ger.	158, 189, 193

It will not be necessary to add any long comments to this table. On reference to the documents, it will be seen that the geographical information is to be found almost exclusively in Hudson's own journal, and in his chart, whilst the scenes and events of the voyage form the main portion of Pricket's account. The few pages which may be gathered from other sources contain stray facts, the insertion of which our table will facilitate. It will not be easy, even with the assistance of the maps in the present volume, to

follow Hudson through the *Strait.* Few readers take sufficient interest in such matters to attempt this labour. To those who wish to undertake it, we recommend the Admiralty Chart of the Arctic regions (1856) as a very useful guide.

The remaining part of Hudson's voyage, the exploration of Hudson's Bay, the wintering in James Bay, the conspiracy of the crew, the exposure of Hudson in an open shallop, are strikingly told by Pricket. But his account, though very remarkable as a narrative, is most unsatisfactory as a geographical record, and leaves almost every question of this kind without a conclusive answer. We cannot even fix the spot where Hudson wintered and where he died. The wintering place which seems to us the most likely is indicated in the map of his voyages which accompanies this volume. The place where he was exposed cannot have been at a great distance from his winter quarters, considering the short time which elapsed between his departure and that tragical event. But in this respect our uncertainty is still greater.

The conspirators pleaded as an excuse for their guilty deed, that Hudson had withheld some of the victuals, storing them up in his own cabin; and they have tried to throw in this manner a blemish on his character. But even if the charge be a true one, Hudson's motives were certainly honourable; with such men as he had under his orders it was dangerous to deal openly. Their crime had no other cause than the fear that he would continue his search and expose

them to new privations; and it seems that in providing for this emergency, he had even increased his dangers. Another calumny has already been disproved; and Hudson's character stands free from all blemish.

Partly to search for Hudson, partly to improve his discoveries, an expedition was sent out the following year, under Sir Thomas Button. Allusion is made to it by Hessel Gerritz; and we have besides added, at the end of the appendix, the contents of a charter granted to the company by whom Button was sent out. Those who risked their capital on that enterprise, firmly believed that Hudson had found an opening for a commercial route to China and Japan. Such was also the belief of Hessel Gerritz, of Purchas, and of all those who first began to spread Hudson's fame. This belief has now vanished, and we know that all the attempts of Henry Hudson, in the north, in the north-east, and in the north-west, have proved complete failures.

Yet, Henry Hudson's name is not forgotten. It is borne by his Strait and by the Bay in which he wintered and died. It is inscribed on the vast territory between the Bay and the Pacific Ocean. It is affectionately remembered by the millions of human beings now living on those banks, which he found scantily inhabited by savage races. Nor have his labours been fruitless: he has given to his own country the fisheries of Spitzbergen, and the fur trade of the Hudson's Bay territories. The Dutch owed to him their North-American colony, which has after-

wards fallen into English hands; and is now peopled and ruled over by the united descendants of both nations. Thus, in spite of his failures, Hudson has erected himself a far prouder monument than he would have dared to hope for. These successes may well be held out as an encouragement to those, who, like him, labour earnestly and steadfastly in some great cause that may seem hopeless. Such labour is never cast away, if only they, like Henry Hudson, prescribe to themselves the rule: To ACHIEVE WHAT THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN, OR ELSE, to use his own words, TO GIVE REASON WHEREFORE IT WILL NOT BE.

In laying the present volume before the members of the Hakluyt Society, the editor owes them more than one explanation. The book has, long ago, been announced as nearly ready. Mr. Hamilton, of the manuscript department in the British Museum, was then named as the editor, whom the writer of the present pages was merely to assist by furnishing part of the introduction. This arrangement was afterwards rendered impossible, by the present editor's leaving London, and retiring to the country. The present editor had not at first the courage to ask Mr. Hamilton to give up his rights. When he at last did so, the request was most kindly and courteously granted. But a delay of more than a year had before taken place. It would be useless to enumerate the other causes of delay, except the principal one; namely the difficulty the editor felt in writing English. This difficulty could never have been

surmounted without the extreme kindness of the editor's friend, Mr. R. H. Major, who has examined every line of the present book before it was sent to the press. From this kindness, the editor has derived more than passing benefits. The corrections became fewer as the work proceeded, and have in its latter half been limited to a few minutiæ here and there. Mr. Major has also taken upon himself the tedious and ungrateful task of correcting the extracts from Purchas. During the journey which the editor undertook to inspect the Cabot map in Paris, he received the kind attentions of the celebrated Mr. Jomard, and of the equally distinguished scholar to whom the present volume is dedicated. Mr. Bouillet, the author of two justly esteemed manuals, has also been kind enough to assist the editor in tracing the Anskoeld Myth back to its origin. In Holland the editor has been less fortunate; yet he has there received some kind assistance from Mr. Frederic Muller in Amsterdam, and from Mr. Spanier, the lithographer, at the Hague, to whom the excellent copies from the two old Dutch charts are due. He has especially to thank Mr. Campbell, the deputy librarian at the Hague, for an act of very great kindness, alluded to on p. xxxv of the present volume.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION.

A., B.

THE questions to which these two notes refer have been made the subjects of special investigation, by the writer of the present pages, whilst the book was going through the press, and by a new and more accurate examination of the original documents he has been induced to modify very considerably the opinions expressed in the text. The following are the principal new views he has arrived at:

1. That Sebastian Cabot was born in Venice, not in Bristol; that he arrived in England with his father when a child, and lived here till he went out on his voyages.

2. That the voyages of the Scandinavians exercised no perceptible influence upon John and Sebastian's opinions.

3. That John Cabot died most probably shortly after his son's second departure.

4. That the discovery of Hudson's Strait in 1496 must be concluded from Galvano's account, not from the spurious one of Willes.

The editor is now preparing for the press a memoir on the north-western voyages of the Cabots, in which these matters will be more clearly explained than could be done in the short space here afforded.

The notes on Cabot's map will be found in the bibliographical list, under Cabot.

The following are the sources which the editor has consulted:

1. As regards *the Scandinavians*, his notes are taken from Rafn's celebrated work, where it is stated in various places that the re-

maining Icelandic documents respecting the north-western voyages of the Scandinavians are extremely numerous, and belong to almost every age, from the beginning of the voyages themselves down to the sixteenth century; so that it is evident how very familiar the Icelanders must have been with these matters in Cabot's and Columbus' time. This seems to us even more clearly proved by the geographical manuals of the Icelanders than by the remaining fragments of their ancient records. These geographical systems prove that the discovery of America, such as it presented itself to their minds, formed part and parcel of their general ideas, from which it can therefore not have been easily effaced. The interesting extract which we give (at the end of the Appendix) is taken from the *Gripla*, one of those geographical manuals which would seem, if we understand Mr. Rafn right, to belong on external evidence to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. We cannot perceive the weight of the reasons adduced by northern scholars for the fact, that on intrinsic evidence the *Gripla* must be *much* anterior to Columbus' and Cabot's voyages.

II. *John Cabot's arrival in England.—Sebastian's birth.* Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, ii. The paper on Cabot quoted in our Bibliographical list, p. 262. Peter Martyr, p. 232. Eden's Peter Martyr, p. 255.

III. *Influence of the Scandinavians.* This idea was principally based on Gomara, ch. xxxix (p. 31), which we have since learnt to consider as a compilation made up from Peter Martyr, and from some fictions introduced by Gomara.

IV. *First Voyage.* Charter granted by Henry VII, Hakluyt, iii, 4. Extract from Henry VII Book of Privy Purse, Biddle, Cabot, p. 80, note; Miscellanies of Philobiblon Society, as reprinted in the text. Ramusio, Viaggi, v. i, p. 414, 415. (In the treatise on Spices, edition quoted in our Bibl. List). The History and Antiquities of Bristol, p. 172. Cabot's Map; Chytraeus, p. 773; Hakluyt, iii, 5.

V. *Events between First and Second Voyage.* Book of Privy Purse, Cabot, p. 86. Ramusio, *loco citato.*

VI. *Privilege granted to John Cabot,* Biddle, Cabot, p. 76; Hakluyt, iii, 5.

VII. *Second Voyage.* Fabian's Chronicle, a notice occurring in three different shapes: *a.* Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, Appendix specially devoted to Sebastian Cabot; *b.* Stow, Annals, p. 481, edition quoted in Bibliographical list; the same *before* in Hollinshed Chronicle, edited by John Hooker, 1587: date 1498; *c.* Hakluyt, Collections, iii, p. 9. Peter Martyr, p. 232; Galvano, p. 32; Gomara, ch. xxxix (p. 31); Willes (Hakluyt, iii, p. 25.)

VIII. *Third Voyage.* Eden, Treatise of New India, 1553, Dedication; Ramusio, Viaggi, iii, Introduction; Thorne's Letter to Henry VIII, *loco citato.*

C.

For the two Portuguese expeditions, see chapters i to iv in the second book of Mr. Biddle's Cabot (pp. 225-248) and the documents quoted there; and also, Discorso d'un Gran Capitano Francese, Ramusio, iii, 423 b.

D.

See Discorso d'un Gran Capitano Francese, Ramusio, iv, 423 b, and Vincent Le Blanc, Voyages (Paris, 1648) iii° partie, p. 66.

DIVERS VOYAGES AND NORTHERNE DISCOVERIES.

TABULA GEOGR
in qua admirandæ navigationis
cursus et recursus designatur
FRETUM
ILDAVIS
AMERICÆ PARS
FRETUM
ANIAN
POLUS ARCTICUS
GROENLAND
ISLAND
MARE SEPTENTRIONALE
Nirulland
MARE TARTARICUM
TARTARIÆ PARS
NOVA ZEMLA
MARE PETZORKE
Finmarchia
Norvegia
PARS EUROPAE
Ob dora
Melcomzaia
Condora

DIVERS VOYAGES AND NORTHERNE DISCOVERIES OF THAT WORTHY IRRECOVERABLE DISCOVERER, MASTER HENRY HUDSON.

HIS DISCOVERIE TOWARD THE NORTH POLE, SET FORTH AT THE CHARGE OF CERTAINE WORSHIPFULL MERCHANTS OF LONDON, IN MAY 1607. WRITTEN PARTLY BY JOHN PLAYSE, ONE OF THE COMPANY, AND PARTLY BY H. HUDSON.

ANNO 1607, *Aprill the nineteenth*, at Saint Ethelburge, in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the parishioners these persons, seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson, master. Secondly, William Colines, his mate. Thirdly, James Young. Fourthly, John Colman. Fiftly, John Cooke. Sixtly, James Beubery. Seventhly, James Skrutton. Eightly, John Pleyce. Ninthly, Thomas Baxter. Tenthly, Richard Day. Eleventhly, James Knight. Twelfthly, John Hudson,[1] a boy.

The *first of May*, 1607, we wayed anchor at Gravesend, and on *Tuesday, the sixe and twentieth* day, in the morning, we made the Iles of Shotland,[2] and at noon we were in 60 degrees 12 minutes, and sixe leagues to the eastward of May. The Iles of Shotland.

[1] Son of Henry Hudson. [Ed.]

[2] Shetland. [Ed.]

them: the compass had no variation. We had sixty-foure fathomes at our sounding, blacke, ozie, sandie, with some yellow shels. Our ship made more way than we did suppose. On *Saturday, the thirtieth of May*, by our observation we were in 61 degrees 11 minutes. This day I found the needle to incline 79 degrees under the horizon. For foure dayes space we made very little way by contrary winds.

No variation; 61 degrees 11 minutes.

The inclination of the needle.

June. On *Thursday, the fourth of June*, we were, by our observation, still in 61 degrees and 14 minutes, eight and twentie or thirtie leagues from the norther part of Shotland: the land bearing by our accompt east and by north off us. I found variation in five degrees westerly.

The *seventh of June*, wee were in 63 degrees 25 minutes. The *eighth*, all the forenoone we had a fresh gale southerly; we steered away north and by west: and by observation we were in 65 degrees 27 minutes.

65 degrees 27 minutes.

The *eleventh*, wee saw sixe or seven whales neere our shippe: we were in sixtie-seven degrees, thirtie minutes. About five of the clocke, the winde came up at north-east and by east; we steered away north north-west with a fresh gale all the night at east. The *twelfth*, the winde was at east north-east, a stiffe gale; wee steered away as afore, and accounted wee had runne by this day noone thirtie leagues. In the after-noone we steered away north and by west fifteene leagues; all the night proved a great fogge with much wind.

67 degrees 30 minutes.

The *thirteenth*, betweene one and two in the morning, we saw some land[1] on head of us, and some ice; and it being

[1] Hudson arrives at the coast of Greenland, along which he sails until the 22nd of June. So much we learn from his remarks. But it is impossible to ascertain with exactness the situation of the places indicated, or even to identify those named, such as Young's Cape, the Mount of God's Mercy, and Hold with Hope. His own statements are vague, and the broad ice-fields, by which the coast has been encircled since his time, have prevented modern investigators from furnishing us with

a thicke fogge we steered away northerly, and having much wind, wee stood away south and by east six or eight leagues. Our sayle and shroudes did freeze. At eight in the morning it cleered up, the wind being at north-east and by east, with much wind wee were hardly able to maintayne a sayle. This was a very high land, most part covered with snow. The neather part was uncovered. At the top it looked reddish, and underneath a blackish clay, with much ice lying about it. The part which we saw when wee cast about, trended east and west; and the norther part which we saw, trended north-east and by north and north-east; and the length which wee saw was nine leagues: wee saw much fowle. Also wee saw a whale close by the shoare. Wee called the head-land which we saw Youngs Cape; and neere it standeth a very high mount, like a round castle, which wee called the Mount of Gods Mercie. All the afternoone and all the evening it rained. At eight in the evening we cast about, and steered all night north and by west, and sometimes north north-west.

Youngs Cape.

The Mount of Gods Mercie.

The *fourteenth*, being neere the land, we had snow. At foure in the morning, the wind vering northerly, we cast about and stood south-east and by south. This day wee had much wind and raine: we shorted sayle, being neere the land. The *fifteenth*, in the morning, it blowed so much wind at north-east, that wee were not able to maintayne any sayle; wee then strooke a hull, and let our ship drive, wayting for a fitter wind: this night was very much raine. The *sixteenth* was much wind at north-east. The *seventeenth*, we set sayle at noone, we steered away east and by south, and east south-

Snow.

any correct outline. The contemporary maps give but little assistance; the ancient chart of the Zeni having been used as the basis for the delineation of Greenland, and that chart, although superior to the generality of its time, is nevertheless very imperfect. When, as in the account before us, we find various additional places incorporated into it, we can, of course, place but small reliance upon the real accuracy of such materials. [Ed.]

east. The *eighteenth*, in the afternoone, a fine gale south-east, which toward the evening increased, and we steered north-east three watches, twelve leagues. The *nineteenth*, we steered away north north-east sixteene leagues. At noone wee had raine with fogge. From twelve to foure we steered north north-east eight leagues, and did account ourselves in seventie degrees neerest hand, purposing to see whether the land which we made the thirteenth day were an iland or part of Groneland.[1] But then the fogge increased very thicke, with much wind at south, which made us alter our course and to shorten our sayle, and we steered away north-east. Being then, as we supposed, in the meridian of the same land, having no observation since the eleventh day, and lying a hull from the fifteenth to the seventeenth day, wee perceived a current setting to the south-west. This day wee saw three whales neere our ship, and having steered away north-east almost one watch, five leagues, the sea was growne every way: we supposed wee were thwart of the north-east part of that land which we made the thirteenth day, and the current setting to wind-ward. The reason that mooved us to thinke so, was, that after we had sayled five or sixe leagues in this sea, the wind neither increasing nor dulling, wee had a pleasant and smooth sea. All this night was foggie with a good gale of wind; we steered away north-east untill the next day at noone, and sayled in that course twentie leagues.

The *twentieth*, all the morning was a thicke fogge, with the winde at south; wee steered north-east till noone. Then

[1] In the charts of this date, Greenland, as stated in the preceding note, was laid down from the map of the Zeni, where it is called *Engroneland*, and from it the *Groneland* of Hudson is derived. We must not confound this with what he calls *Greenland*, by which he means the *Greenland* of Barentz, that is to say, *Spitzbergen*. In short, it is worth remembering, that wherever Hudson mentions *Groneland*, he intends *Greenland*, and when he speaks of *Greenland* we must understand *Spitzbergen*. [Ed.]

we changed our course, and steered away north north-east, hoping for an open sea in our course to fall with the bodie of Newland.[1] This day, at two in the afternoone, it cleered up, and wee saw the sunne, which wee had not seene since the second of this moneth. Having steered north north-east two watches and a halfe, fifteene or sixteene leagues, wee saw land on our larboord, about four leagues off us, trending, as wee could ghess, north-east and south-west. Wee steered away east north-east, the wind at south a good gale, but reasonable cleere: wee saw many birds with blacke backes and white bellies, in forme much like a ducke, we saw also many pieces of ice driving at the sea. We loofed for one and went roomer for another. And this morning, about foure, a thicke fogge we saw ahead of us.

Note.

Land on their larboord.

Many fowles.

Much drift ice.

To loofe is to keep close to the wind: roomer, cont[rary].

The *one and twentieth*, in the morning, we steered north-east and east north-east two watches, five or sixe leagues. Then it grew thicke fogge. And we cast about, and steered north-east and east north-east two watches, sixe leagues, finding wee were embayed. The wind came at east south-east a little gale: we tacked about and lay south. All this night was a thicke fog with little winde, east we lay with the stemme.

The *two and twentieth*, in the morning, it cleered up, being calme about two or three of the clocke: after, we had a prettie gale, and we steered away east and by north three leagues. Our observation was in 72 degrees 38 minutes; and changing our course wee steered north-east, the wind at

[1] *Nieuland* is the name given to Spitzbergen by several of the Dutch geographers, this the English afterwards converted into *King James his Newland.* The most general name for the country was, however, Greenland, originating from a mistaken notion respecting the northern territory discovered by the ancient Scandinavians. The first who fell into this mistake was Barentz. The name of Spitzbergen was invented by Hessel Gerard, in 1613, possibly on the authority of Barentz. Gerard, however, refers the name to the year 1596. *See* Dr. Beke's Introduction to *De Veer*, p. lxxxvii. [Ed.]

south-east, a prettie gale. This morning, when it cleered up, we saw the land, trending neere hand east north-east and west south-west, esteeming ourselves from it twelve leagues. It was a mayne high-land, nothing at all covered with snow; and the north part of that mayne high-land was very high mountaynes, but we could see no snow on them. We accounted, by our observation, the part of the mayne land lay neerest hand in 73 degrees. The many fogs and calmes, with contrary winds and much ice neere the shoare, held us from farther discovery of it. It may bee objected against us as a fault, for haling so westerly a course. The chiefe cause that moved us thereunto, was our desire to see that part of Groneland, which (for ought that we know) was to any Christian unknowne; and wee thought it might as well have beene open sea as land, and by that meanes our passage should have beene the larger to the Pole; and the hope of having a westerly wind, which would be to us a landerly wind if wee found land. And considering wee found land contrarie to that which our cards make mention of, we accounted our labour so much the more worth. And, for ought that wee could see, it is like to bee a good land, and worth the seeing.

Land not covered with snow.

On the *one and twentieth* day, in the morning, while we steered our course north north-east, we thought we had embayed ourselves, finding land on our larboord and ice upon it, and many great pieces of drift ice: we steered away north-east, with diligent looking out every cleere for land, having a desire to know whether it would leave us to the east, both to know the bredth of the sea, and also to shape a more northerly course. And considering wee knew no name given to this land, wee thought good to name it Hold-with-Hope, lying in 73 degrees of latitude.

The land of Hold with Hope 73 degrees.

The sunne was on the meridian on the south part of the compasse, neerest hand. Heere it is to bee noted, that when we made the Mount of Gods Mercie and Youngs Cape, the

land was covered with snow for the most part, and extreame cold, when wee approached neere it: but this land was very temperate to our feeling. And this likewise is to be noted, that being two dayes without observation, notwithstanding our lying a hull by reason of much contrary wind, yet our observation and dead-reckoning were within eight leagues together, our shippe being before us eight leagues. This night, untill next morning, prooved little winde.

The *three and twentieth*, in the morning, we had an hard gale on head of us, with much rayne that fell in very great drops, much like our thunder-showers in England; wee tacked about and stood east northerly with a short sayle; to our feeling it was not so cold as before we had it. It was calme from noone to three of the clocke with fogge. After the winde came up at east and east south-east, we steered away north-east with the fogge and rayne. About seven or eight of the clocke, the wind increased with extreame fogge, wee steered away with short sayle east north-east and sometimes east and by north. About twelve at midnight the wind came up at south-west; we steered away north, being reasonable cleere weather.

The *four and twentieth*, in the morning, about two of the clocke, the masters mate thought he saw land on the larboord, trending north north-west westerly, and the longer we ranne north the more it fell away to the west, and did thinke it to bee a mayne high land. This day, the wind being westerly, we steered away north, and by observation we were in 73 degrees nearest hand. At noone we changed our course, and steered away north and by east; and at our last observation, and also at this, we found the meridian all leeward on the south and by west, westerly part of the compasse, when we had sayled two watches, eight leagues.

The *five and twentieth*, the wind scanted and came up at north north-west; we lay north-east two watches, 8 leagues. After the wind became variable betweene the

north-east and the north, we steered away east and by north and sometimes east; we had thicke fogge. About noone three granpasses played about our shippe. This after-noone the wind vered to the east and south-east: we haled away north and by east. This night was close weather, but small fogge (we use the word night for distinction of time, but long before this the sunne was alway above the horizon, but as yet we could never see him upon the meridian north.)

75 degrees. This night, being by our accompt in the latitude of 75 degrees, we saw small flockes of birds, with blacke backes and white bellies, and long speare tayles. We supposed that

Land not farre off. land was not farre off; but we could not discrie any, with all the diligence which we could use, being so close weather that many times we could not see sixe or seven leagues off.

The *sixe and twentieth*, in the morning, was close weather; we had our wind and held our course as afore. This

76 degrees 38 minutes. day our observation was 76 degrees 38 minutes; and we had birds of the same sort as afore, and divers other of that colour, having red heads, that we saw when we first made the Mount of Gods Mercy in Greenland, but not so many. After we steered away north and by east, two watches, ten leagues, with purpose to fall with the souther part of Newland, accounting ourselves 10 or 12 leagues from the land. Then wee stood away north-east, one watch, five leagues.

The *seven and twentieth*, about one or two of the clocke

Greenland or Newland discovered. in the morning, we made Newland, being cleere weather on the sea; but the land was covered with fogge, the ice lying very thick all along the shore for 15 or 16 leagues, which we saw. Having faire wind wee coasted it in a very pleasing smooth sea, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms foure leagues from the shoare. This day, at noone, wee

78 degrees. accounted we were in 78 degrees, and we stood along the shoare. This day was so foggie, that we were hardly able to see the land many times, but by our account we were

neare Vogel Hooke.[1] About eight of the clocke this eeven- Vogel Hooke.
ing, we purposed to shape our course from thence north-west. Heere is to bee noted, that although we ranne along neere the shoare, we found no great cold; which made us thinke that if we had beene on shoore the place is temper- Temperate ayre.
ate. Holding this north-west course, about ten of the clocke at night, we saw great store of ice on head off us, bearing wester off us; which wee could not goe cleere off with the foresayd course. Then we tact about, and stood away betweene the south and the south-east, as much desirous to leave this land as we were to see it.

The *eight and twentieth* was a hard gale of wind all the fore-noone, betweene the south and the south-west. We shaped our course [2] , we did it to bee farther from the ice and land. It pleased God that about twelve of the clocke this night it cleered up, and we found that we were betweene the land and the ice; Vogel Hooke then bearing nearest hand east off us. Then we tacked about and stood in for the shoare, having sea-roome between the ice and the land. The *nine and twentieth*, at foure in the morning the wind at north-east, a pretie gale, we thought best to shorten our way; so we tacked about and stood north north-west, the wind a little increasing. About twelve at noone, we saw ice ahead off us; we cast about again and stood away east south-east with very much wind, so that we shortned our sayles for the space of two

[1] Vogel Hooke, (Vogel-hoeck)—*Bird Cape.* According to Dr. Beke (p. lxxxvii), a point on the western coast of Spitzbergen. It is so laid down in an old map, published in the "Begin en Voortgang von de Nederlandsche Oostindische Compagnie," 4to, Amsterdam, 1646; in the first part, containing the Voyages to the North, 1595 to 1597. This a copy of an English map by Daniel, published in London, 1612, but which we have not been able to find. Dr. Petermann assigns to Vogel-hoeck quite a different place; but the scantiness of the materials does not seem to us to warrant any decided opinion. [Ed.]

[2] Blank in the original edition. [Ed.]

watches. Then about eight this eevening we strucke a hull, and it proved the hardest storme that we had in this voyage. The *thirtieth*, in the morning, was stormie; about noone it ceased; at seven in the eevening it proved almost calme.

July. The *first of July*, all the fore-noone the wind was at south-east; we stood north-east for the shoare, hoping to finde an open sea betweene the shoare and the ice. About noone wee were embayed with ice, lying betweene the land and us.

78 degrees 42 minutes. By our observation we were in 78 degrees 42 minutes, whereby we accounted we were thwart of the great Indraught. And to free ourselves of the ice, we steered betweene the south-east and south, and to the westward, as we could have sea; and about six this eevening it pleased God to give us cleere weather; and we found we were shot

The great inlet. farre into the inlet, being[1] almost a bay, and environed with very high mountaynes, with low land lying betweene them; wee had no ground in this bay at an hundred fathoms. Then, being sure where we were, we steered away west, the wind at south-east and calme, and found all our ice on the norther shoare and a cleare sea to the southward.

The *second*, it pleased God to give us the wind at north-east, a faire gale with cleere weather, the ice being to the northward off us, and the weather shoare, and an open sea to the southwards under our lee. We held on our course north-west till twelve of the clocke; having sayled in that course 10 leagues, and finding the ice to fall from us to the [1], we gave thankes to God who marvellously preserved us from so many dangers amongst so huge a quantitie of ice and fogge. We steered away north-west, hoping

78 degrees 56 minutes. to be free from ice; we had observation 78 degrees, 56 minutes; we fell with ice againe, and trended it as it lay betweene the west and south south-east. The *third*, we had

78 degrees 33 minutes. observation 78 degrees, 33 minutes. This day wee had our shrouds frozen; it was searching cold; we also trended the

[1] Blank in original edition. [Ed.]

ice, not knowing whether we were cleare or not, the wind being at north.

The *fourth*, was very cold, and our shroudes and sayles frozen; we found we were farre in the inlet. The wind being at north, we beare up and stood south south-east, and south and south-west by west till ten this night. The *fift*, was very much wind at north-easterly; at twelve we strooke a hull, having brought ourselves neare the mouth of the inlet.

The shroudes and sayles frozen.

The mouth of the inlet.

The *sixth*, in the morning, the wind was as before, and the sea growne. This morning we came into a very greene sea; we had our observation 77 degrees, 30 minutes. This afternoone the wind and sea asswaged. About foure of the clocke we set sayle, and steered north-west and by west, the wind being at north north-east. This day proved the clearest day we had long before. The *seventh*, at foure in the morning, was very cleare weather, and the fairest morning that we saw in three weekes before; we steered as afore, being by our account in 78 degrees nearest hand, and out of the Sacke. We found we were compassed in with land and ice, and were againe entred into a blacke sea, which by proofe we found to be an open passage. Now, having the wind at north north-east, we steered away south and by east, with purpose to fall with the southermost part of this land, which we saw; hoping by this meane, either to defray the charge of the voyage, or else, if it pleased God in time to give us a faire wind to the north-east, to satisfie expectation. All this day and night afterward proved calme.

77 degrees 30 minutes.

78 degrees. The end of the Sacke.

A blacke and open sea.

The *eight*, all the fore-noone proved calme and very thicke fogge. This morning we saw many peeces of drift-wood drive by us; we heaved out our boate to stop a leake, and mended our riggings. This day wee saw many seales, and two fishes which we judged to bee sea-horses or morses. At twelve this night we had the winde at east and by south; wee stood away north-east.

Much drift-wood.

Many Seales.

Morses.

The *ninth*, all the fore-noone was little wind at south-east, with thicke fogge. This day we were in amongst ilands of ice, where we saw many seales.

The *tenth*, in the morning, was foggie; afterward it proved cleere; we found we were compassed with ice every way about us; wee tacked about, and stood south and by west, and south south-west, one watch, five leagues, hoping to get more sea-roome and to stand for the north-east; we had the wind at north-west.

From hence it seemeth is taken out of Hen. Hudsons owne notes.

The *eleventh*, very cleere weather, with the winde at south-east-south; we were come out of the blue sea into our greene sea againe, where we saw whales. Now, having a fresh gale of wind at south south-east, it behooved mee to change my course, and to sayle to the north-east, by the

Blue and greene seas.

souther end of Newland. 'But being come into a greene sea, praying God to direct mee, I steered away north ten leagues. After that we saw ice on our larboord, we steered away east and by north three leagues, and left the ice behind us. Then wee steered away north till noone. This day wee had the sunne on the meridian south and by west, westerly, his greatest height was 37 degrees, 20 minutes. By this ob-

79 degrees 17 minutes.

servation we were in 79 degrees, 17 minutes; we had a fresh gale of wind and a smooth sea, by meanes whereof our ship had out-runne us. At ten this evening cleere weather, and then we had the company of our troublesome neighbours, ice with fogge. The wind was at south south-west. Heere we saw plentie of seales, and we supposed beares had beene heere, by their footing and dung upon the ice. This day,

Sick of beares flesh unsalted.

many of my companie were sicke with eating of beares flesh the day before unsalted.

The *twelfth*, for the most part, was thicke fogge; wee steered betweene south and by east, and south-south-east $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, to cleere us of the ice. Then we had the wind at south; wee steered till noone north-east five leagues. This morning we had our shroudes frozen. At noone, by our

accompt, we were in 80 degrees, being little wind at west south-west, almost calme with thicke fogge. This afternoone we steered away north and sometimes north-east. Then we saw ice ahead off us; we cast about and stood south-east, with little wind and fogge. Before we cast about by meanes of the thicke fogge, we were very neere ice, being calme, and the sea setting on to the ice, which was very dangerous. It pleased God at the very instant to give us a small gale, which was the meanes of our deliverance; to Him be praise therefore. At twelve this night it cleared up, and out of the top William Collins, our boatswaine, saw the land, called Newland by the Hollanders, bearing south south-west twelve leagues from us.

80 degrees.

Newland, or Greenland, of which the Hollanders hath made a little discoverie by Barents, as before is delivered; but neither so farre nor so exact nor so usefull, nor first, as before is observed of Sir H. Willoughbies English exacter discoveries, finding the whale and morse benefit, they also enterloped.

The *thirteenth*, in the morning, the wind at south and by east, a good gale, we cast about and stood north-east and by east, and by observation we were in 80 degrees, 23 minutes. This day we saw many whales. This fore-noone proved cleere weather, and we could not see any signe of ice out of the top. Betweene noone and three of the clocke, we steered away north-east and by east five leagues; then we saw ice on head off us; we steered east two glasses, one league, and could not be cleare of the ice with that course. Then we steered away south-east two leagues ½, after we sayled east and by north, and east foure leagues, till eight the next morning.

The *foureteenth*, in the morning, was calme with fogge. At nine, the wind at east, a small gale with thicke fogge; wee steered south-east and by east, and running this course we found our greene sea againe, which by proofe we found to be freest from ice, and our azure blue sea to be our icie sea. At this time we had more birds then we usually found. At noone, being a thicke fogge, we found ourselves neere land, bearing east off us; and running farther we found a bay open to the west and by north northerly, the bottome and sides thereof being to our sight very high and ragged

Greene sea freest of ice, and the blue sea icie.

land. The norther side of this bayes mouth being high land is a small iland, the which we called Collins Cape,[1] by the name of our boat-swaine, who first saw it. In this bay we saw many whales, and one of our company having a hooke and line over-boord to trie for fish, a whale came under the keele of our ship and made her held; yet by Gods mercie we had no harme, but the losse of the hooke and three parts of the line. At a south-west sunne from the north-west and by north, a flood set into the bay. At the mouth of this bay we had sounding thirtie fathoms, and after sixe and twentie fathoms, but being farther in, we had no ground at an hundred fathoms, and therefore judged it rather a sound then a bay. Betweene this high ragged, in the swampes and vallies lay much snow. Heere wee found it hot. On the souther side of this bay, lye three or foure small ilands or rockes.

Collins Cape.

Whale danger.

A sound is a greater and deeper indraught then a bay.

In the bottome of this bay, John Colman, my mate, and William Collins, my boat-swaine, with two others of our company went on shoare, and there they found and brought aboord a payre of morses teeth in the jaw; they likewise found whales bones, and some dosen or more of deeres hornes; they saw the footings of beasts of other sorts; they also saw rote-geese;[2] they saw much drift-wood on the shoare, and found a streame or two of fresh water. Here they found it hot on the shoare, and drank water to coole their thirst, which they also commended. Here we found the want of a better ship-boate. As they certified me, they were not on the shoare past half an houre, and among other

Heat beyond 80 degrees.

[1] This island is not marked upon any old map or chart, and the description here given of it, is insufficient to determine its place with any degree of certainty. [Ed.]

[2] Supposed to have been thus named from their peculiar cry; see the observations of Dr. Beke on these geese, *De Veer*, pp. 79-81. We may call the reader's attention to the fact that Hudson does not fall into the error of Phillip, who, misled by the ear, mistook the Dutch *rot-gansen* for red geese.

things brought aboord a stone of the countrey. When they went from us it was calme, but presently after we had a gale of wind at north-east, which came with the flood with fogge. We plyed too and againe in the bay, waiting their comming; but after they came aboord we had the wind at east and by south a fine gale; we minding our voyage, and the time to perform it, steered away north-east and north north-east. This night proved cleere, and we had the sunne on the meridian, on the north and by east part of the compasse; from the upper edge of the horizon, with the crosse-staffe, we found his height 10 degrees, 40 minutes, without allowing any thing for the semidiameter of the sunne, or the distance off the end of the staffe from the center in the eye. From a north sunne to an east sunne, we sayled betweene north and north north-east, eight leagues.

Sunne 10 degrees 40 minutes high, about midnight.

The *fifteenth*, in the morning, was very cleere weather, the sunne shining warme, but little wind at east southerly. By a south-east sunne we had brought Collins Cape to beare off us south-east, and we saw the high land of Newland, that part by us discovered on our starboord, eight or ten leagues from us, trending north-east and by east, and south-west and by west, eighteene or twentie leagues from us to the north-east, being a very high mountaynous land, like ragged rockes with snow betweene them. By mine account, the norther part of this land which now we saw, stretched into 81 degrees. All this day proved cleere weather, little wind, and reasonable warme.

81 degrees.

The *sixteenth*, in the morning warme and cleere weather; the wind at north. This morning we saw that we were compassed in with ice in abundance, lying to the north, to the north-west, the east and south-east; and being runne toward the farthest part of the land by us discovered, which for the most part trendeth nearest hand north-east and south-west, wee saw more land joyning to the same, trending north in our sight, by meanes of the cleernesse of the weather, stretching

Land stretching into 82 degrees.

farre into 82 degrees,[1] and by the bowing or shewing of the skie much farther. Which when I first saw, I hoped to have had a free sea between the land and the ice, and meant to have compassed this land by the north. But now, finding by proofe it was unpossible, by means of the abundance of ice compassing us about by the north and joyning to the land, and seeing God did blesse us with a faire wind to sayle by the south of this land to the north-east, we returned, bearing up the helme, minding to hold that part of the land which the Hollanders had discovered in our sight; and if contrary winds should take us, to harbour there, and to trie what we could finde to the charge of our voyage, and to proceed on our discoverie as soone as God should blesse us with winde. And this I can assure at this present, that betweene 78 degrees and ½ and 82 degrees, by this way there is no passage:[2] but I think this land may bee profitable to those that will adventure it. In this bay before spoken of, and about this coast, we saw more abundance of seales then we had seene any time before, swimming in the water. At noone this day, having a stiffe gale of wind at north, we were thwart of Collins Cape, standing in 81 degrees and a halfe; and at one of the clocke the cape beare north-east off us. From thence I set our course west south-west, with purpose to keepe in the open sea free from ice, and sayled in that course 16 leagues. At ten this night we steered away south-west, with the wind at north, a hard gale, untill eight the next morning, 18 leagues.

They returned.

Abundance of seales.

The *seventeenth*, in the morning, a good gale at north; at eight we altered our course, and steered away south till

[1] Captain Beechey (*Voyage of Discovery*, p. 271), supposes this to be the Seven Islands. The highest point reached in boats and sledges by Captain Parry in 1827, lies under 82° 45′.

[2] Hudson is mistaken in this respect. It is not clear, however, whether he was arrested by ice only or by land. If the latter were the case, some of his observations with regard to latitudes must be incorrect.

eight in the eevening, and ranne 12 leagues. This day proved reasonable cleere and warme. The *eighteenth*, in the morning, the wind encreased at south and by east, with thicke fogge. All this after-noone and night proved close weather, little fogge, and reasonable warme.

The *nineteenth*, at eight in the morning, the wind at south, with thicke fogge; we steered south-east 4 leagues till noone; then the wind vered more large; wee steered south-east and by east four leagues till foure; then wee vered shete, and steered east and by south-easterly 15 leagues, till eight the next morning. This day, after the morning, proved reasonable cleere and warme.

The *twentieth*, in the morning, little wind; at eight this morning wee saw land ahead of us under our lee, and to weatherward of us, distant from us 12 leagues, being part of Newland. It is very high mountainous land; the highest that we had seene untill now. As we sayled neere it, we saw a Sound ahead of us, lying east and west. The land on the norther side of this Sound's mouth, trendeth neerest hand west north-west, and east south-east 12 leagues, in our sight, being 10 leagues from us; and the land on the souther side, being 8 or 10 leagues in our sight, at this time trendeth south south-east and north north-west:[1] from eight to noone was calme. This day, by observation, we were in 77 degrees, 26 minutes. On the norther side of the mouth of this inlet lie three ilands,[2] not farre the one from the other, being very high mountainous land. The farthest of the three to the north-west hath foure very high mounts, like heapes of corne. That iland next the inlets mouth, hath one very high mount on the souther end. Here one of our companie killed a red-billed bird. All this day after the morning, and all

77 degrees, 26 minutes.

[1] This is perhaps the best description extant of Bell Sound, on the west coast of Spitzbergen.

[2] These three islands are not, as far as we know, marked on any map of Spitzbergen.

night, proved calme, enclining rather to heate then cold. This night wee had some warme rayne.

The *one and twentieth*, all the fore-noone calme; at foure in the after-noone we had a small gale of wind at south south-east, with fog; we steered away east to stand in with the land, and sayled 3 leagues untill mid-night: then the wind came at north-east, we cast about, and steered south 10 leagues till eight the next morning. The *two and twentieth*, at eight in the morning much wind at east, and variable, with short sayle wee steered 3 leagues south and by east: then came down very much wind; we strooke a hull. All this after-noone and night, proved very much wind with raine.

The *three and twentieth*, all the fore-noone was very much wind at south, with raine and fogge. At foure this after-noone wee saw land, bearing north-east of us, 6 leagues from us. Then we had the wind at south south-west; wee steered away south-east and south-east and by east 4 leagues, the sea being very much growne. We accounted we had hulled north-west and by north 22 leagues, and north 3 leagues. Then fearing with much wind to be set on a lee-shoare we tackt about, and made our way good west and by north, half a point northerly all this night with much wind.

The *four and twentieth*, in the morning, much wind as afore, and the sea growne. This morning wee strooke our mayne top-mast to ease our ship, and sayled from the last eevening, eight, to this noone, 15 leagues west and by north halfe a point northerly. From twelve to eight, six leagues as afore, with the wind at south and by west; at eight we tackt about with the winde at south south-west, and lay south-east and by east, with much winde, and the sea growne.

The *five and twentieth* was a cleere morning: we set our mayne top-mast: we saw land bearing north of us, and under our lee, we sayling south-east and by east. Then the wind scanted: we cast about, and lay south-west and by

west 2 leagues ½ till noone. Then it began to overcast, and the wind to scant againe: we cast about, and lay south-east and by south, the wind at south-west and by west, and sayled in that course 3 leagues, till foure in the after-noone. Then the wind scanted againe, and we sayled 3 leagues south. Now, seeing how contrarie the winde proved to doe the good which wee desired this way, I thought to prove our fortunes by the west once again; and this eevening at eight, wee being in the latitude of 78, with the better, and from land 15 leagues, which leagues part whereof beare from the north-east to the east off[1] us, we steered away west, with the wind at south-east, and cleere weather.

The *sixe and twentieth*, all this day proved rayne with thicke fogge, and an hard gale of wind at east and by north, and east north-east. From the last eevening at eight to this noone, wee ranne 25 leagues: from noone till midnight 19 leagues, the wind at east and by south; from mid-night till two the next morning, 2 leagues west.

The *seven and twentieth*, extreme thicke fog, and little wind at east and by south. Then it proved calme, and the sea very loftie. Wee heard a great rutte or noise with the ice and sea, which was the first ice we heard or saw since we were at Collins Cape: the sea heaving us westward toward the ice. Wee heaved out our boat, and rowed to towe out our ship farther from the danger; which would have beene to small purpose, by meanes the sea went so high: but in this extremitie it pleased God to give us a small gale at north-west and by west, we steered away south-east, 4 leagues, till noone. Here wee had finished our discoverie, if the wind had continued that brought us hither, or if it had continued calme; but it pleased God to make this north-west and by west wind the meane of our deliverance: which wind wee had not found common in this voyage. God give us thankfull hearts for so great deliverance. Here we

Dangers escaped.

[1] In the neighbourhood of Ice Sound, on the west coast of Spitzbergen.

found the want of a good ship-boat, as once we had done
Whales Bay. before at Whales Bay: we wanted also halfe a dozen long oares to rowe in our ship. At noone the day cleered up, and we saw by the skie ice bearing off us, from west south-west to the north and north north-east. Then we had a good gale at west; we steered away south till foure, 7 leagues. From foure to six, south 4 leagues, and found by the icy skie and our neereness to Groneland that there is no passage that way: which, if there had beene, I meant to have made my returne by the north of Groneland to Davis his Streights, and so for England.[1] Here finding we had the benefit of a westerly wind, which all this voyage we had found scant, we altered our course and steered to the eastward, and ran south-east foure leagues. From eight this eevening till noone the next day, east south-east, 30 leagues. All this day and night proved very cold, by meanes, as I suppose, of the winds comming off so much ice.

The *eight and twentieth*, very cold, the wind at west, not very foggie. At noone this day we steered away south-east and by east, and by observation we were 76 degrees, 36 minutes.[2] From noone to eight, 10 leagues. Then the wind scanted to south-east and by south, we steered away east and by north 18 leagues, till the next day noone.

The *nine and twentieth*, all the fore-noone a thicke fog and wet, the wind at south-east and by east, nearest hand, and raw cold. From noone to foure wee sayled three leagues east and by north, halfe a point northerly. Then the wind veered more large; we steered east and by south 8 leagues till twelve at night. At this time to windward we heard

[1] Greenland, which Hudson always calls Groneland, was up to his time too imperfectly known to prevent his entertaining the hope of returning home by the north of it. The fact that a passage does not exist, is one of the most important geographical results obtained by this expedition.

[2] About 6′ to the N.W. of South Cape, on Point Lookout, the most southern point of Spitzbergen.

the rutte of land, which I knew to be so by the colour of the sea. It was extreme thicke fog, so that we could hardly see a cables length from our ship. We had ground 25 fathoms, small blacke peble stones. Wee sounded againe, and had ground at 30 fathomes, small stones like beanes; at the next cast no ground at 60 fathomes. I cast about againe and steered south-west six leagues, west and by north two leagues, till the next day noone. All this day and night extreme thicke fog.

The *thirtieth*, all the fore-noone very thicke fog. At noone almost calme: after we had little wind, and steered north north-west till two: then it cleered up, so that we could see from us 2 leagues with the wind at north-west. Then we steered east south-east: after it cleered. At south, in the eevening, we saw an iland bearing off us north-west from us 5 leagues, and we saw land bearing off from us 7 leagues.[1] We had land likewise bearing off us from east south-east to south-east and by east as we judged, 10 leagues. Then, having the winde at west north-west, we steered south and by east. It presently proved calme till ten this eevening: then wee had a little gale at south-west and by west; wee steered away south south-east till twelve this night, and accounted ourselves in 76,[2] from land 10 leagues: which was the likeliest land that wee had seene on all parts of New-land, being playne riggie land of a meane height and not ragged, as all the rest was that we had seene this voyage, nor covered with snow. At twelve this night wee saw two morses in the sea neere us swimming to land. From twelve at night to foure, calme.

The *one and thirtieth*, at foure this morning, we had the wind at south-east; we steered south south-west. Then it

[1] This island seems not to be marked on the maps.

[2] An evident mistake in Hudson's dead reckoning; Spitzbergen does not extend farther south than 76° 30′. These mistakes frequently occur in the Arctic regions, and we must be careful with regard to every statement that is not based on astronomical observations.

proved calme, and so continued all the fore-noone. The after-noone wee had the wind at east south-east: we steered south, 8 leagues. Then being like to prove much wind, contrarie to our purpose, and finding our fog more thicke and troublesome then before, divers things necessarie wanting, and our time well nigh spent to doe further good this yeere, I commanded to beare up for our returne for England, and steered away south south-west. And this night proved a hard gale of wind at south-east and by east. We were thwart of Cheries Iland[1] the next morning, at foure of the clocke, being to windward off us 5 leagues: knowing we were neere it, we looked out carefully for the same, and it proving cleere, we saw it, being a very ragged land on the water side, rising like hey-cockes.

Cherie Iland.

The *first of August*, a very hard gale of wind at east south-east; we shorted sayle and steered away south south-west. This night was very foggie, with a hard gale of wind at east and by south; we steered by our account 27 leagues: and from eight this eevening till the next morning foure, 10 leagues as afore. All this night was very foggie, wet and raw cold.

The *second*, in the morning, calme, with a thicke fog, cold and slabbie weather. About noone we had a little gale west and by north: we steered away as afore. The *third*, in the morning calme and cleere weather, with a little gale east and by south; we sayled south south-west: then wee had the wind at south-east, wee sayled as afore. All this day and night proved close weather, a little fogge at noone, which continued not long. At twelve this night the wind vered to the east and by north, wee held our course south south-west as afore.

The *fifteenth of August* we put into the Iles of Farre,[2] standing in 52 degrees; and the *Fifteenth of September* I arrived in Tilberie Hope in the Thames.

[1] Discovered by Barentz. Stephen Bennett visited it in 1603, and called it after his patron, Francis Cherie.

[2] The Faroe Islands.

A SECOND VOYAGE OR EMPLOYMENT OF MASTER HENRY HUDSON,

FOR FINDING A PASSAGE TO THE EAST INDIES BY THE NORTH-EAST: WRITTEN BY HIMSELFE.

THEIR names employed in this action are as followeth: Henry Hudson, master and pilot; Robert Juet,[1] the master his mate: Ludlowe Arnall; John Cooke, boatsonne; Philip Stacie, carpenter; John Barnes; John Braunch, cooke; John Adrey; James Strutton; Michel Feirce; Thomas Hilles; Richard Tomson; Robert Raynar; John Hudson; and Humfrey Gilby. The courses observed in this journall were by a compasse, that the needle and the north of the Flye were directly one on the other.

Anno 1608, the *two and twentieth of Aprill,* being *Friday,* Aprill. we set sayle at Saint Katherines,[2] and fell downe to Blackewall.

The *twentieth of May,* at noone, by observation we were May. in 64 degrees, 52 minutes; and at this time and place the needle declined under the horizon by the inclinatory 81 degrees, and wee had a smooth sea, by meanes whereof my observation was good.

The *one and twentieth,* at night, thicke fog; wee sayled north north-east; wee steered north north-east as afore: in the after-noone little wind and thicke fog; we accounted us in 67 degrees, the sea smooth, the needle declined 82 degrees; this night was calme and cleere. The *three and twen-*

[1] I have Robert Juetts journall also, for brevitie omitted. [Purchas.]

[2] Where the St. Katherine's Docks now are.

tieth, in the morning the wind was easterly, we stood north north-east, and north and by east. All the fore-noone was foggie: in the after-noone it cleered, and the wind shortned upon us, we made our way good north all night. The *foure and twentieth*, the wind at east north-east, and east and by north, we lay as neere as wee could with a full sayle; wee accounted Lowfoot[1] from us east northerly 16 leagues distant from us; at foure a clocke this after-noone, wee stood all night as afore.

Lowfoot.

The *five and twentieth*, the wind at east north-east; we stood away north as we could lie: all this day was cleere weather and searching cold, which cold begunne the one and twentieth day, and then my carpenter was taken sicke, and so doth yet continue; and three or foure more of our companie were enclining to sicknesse, I suppose by meanes of the cold. All the night it was calme. The *sixe and twentieth*, cold but cleare weather, the wind betweene east and east north-east; we stood north-easterly till twelve a clocke at night: then wee had the wind at north-east and north north-east, we stood south-east and east till noone the next day. The *seven and twentieth*, cold and drie weather, at noone we had the wind north and north north-west; wee stood away north-east and east north-east as we could, and accounted our selves in 69 degrees, 40 minutes, and the needle inclined, having a smooth sea, nearest 84 degrees. All night we had wind and weather as afore.

The *eight and twentieth*, drie cold cleere weather; the wind betweene north north-west and north; we made our way good east north-east; wee saw the sunne on the north meridian above the horizon 5 degrees, 35 minutes. All this night we had much wind as afore. The *nine and twentieth*, a hard gale at north north-west: by account we ranne from mid-night to noone 21 leagues east north-east. Wee had the sunne on the meridian 5 degrees, the latitude 73 de-

Sun 5 degrees 35 minutes at mid-night.

[1] The Luffoden Islands, west of Norway.

grees, 13 minutes, whereby wee found our ship to have out-runne us. At mid-night the wind came to south-east: we cast about, and stood east north-east. This day partly cleere weather with some snow. The *thirtieth*, cold cleere weather, the wind betweene north-east and east and by north; we went east south-east, and observing, were in 73 degrees, 50 minutes. The *one and thirtieth*, cold and cleere weather: from the last day to this day noone, we stood south-east and by south, in the latitude of 72 degrees, 45 minutes.

The *first of June*, a hard gale at east north-east, with snow: we made our way good south south-east. The *second*, a hard gale of wind at north-east: towards night, calme with fogge, our course was south-east all day. The *third*, in the morning we had a sight of the North Cape;[1] and at a west and by north sunne, the Cape bore off us south-west, halfe a point southerly, being from us 8 leagues: and observing the variation, I found it to the westward 11 degrees: and having a smooth sea, the needle enclined under the horizon 84 degrees and a halfe, the neerest I could finde. We had the wind at south-west, and wee stood away north-east and by east. It was cleere weather, and we saw Norway fisher-men at sea.

June.

North Cape.

Variations west, 11 degrees.

Needle's inclination, 84 degrees and a halfe.

The *fourth*, warme cleere sun-shine; we stood away north-east and by east. Now, by God's helpe, our carpenter recovered, and made a mast for our ship-boat, and the companie made a sayle; we had the sunne in the sight on the north meridian, his height was 5 degrees, 40 minutes. Inclination, 23 degrees, 21 minutes: pole's height, 72 degrees, 21 minutes. The *fift*, in the morning, calme weather: wee sounded, and had 140 fathoms, sand oze: here wee saw a swelling sea setting north-east and by east, and south-west and by west, with streame-leches: and we saw drift wood. After we had wind; and we sayled and made our way north

[1] The most northern point of Norway.

north-east: towards night we sounded, and found ground at 150 fathoms, sand oze. This day cleere weather, and not cold. The *sixt*, wee had cleere weather, the wind being at east north-east, from the last day till this day noone; we shaped our way on divers courses north and by west, in the latitude of 73 degrees, 24 minutes. We found that our ship had out-runne us, sounding in 160 fathoms: in the after-noone little wind.

The *seventh*, in the morning, the wind at south, after at south south-east: from the last day till this day noone, wee accounted our way from divers courses north-east, 15 leagues. This day was close but cleere weather, and we had a good gale of wind at this time. And three dayes before this, our cooke and one more of our companie were very sicke. In the morning we had ground at 150 fathoms, and at night we had no ground at 180 fathoms, which encreased hope. This night we had some snow, which continued foure houres: then the wind came at north-east and by east with storme; and with short sayle we stood north and by west: here the needle enclined 86 degrees. I accounted that we were in
74 degrees, 30 minutes. 74 degrees and a halfe at neerest hand. This night we saw the sunne on the north meridian, his height was 7 degrees, 40 minutes, which maketh the pole's height 74 degrees, 23 minutes. The *eight*, from twelve a clocke last night till noone, we accounted our way on divers courses, north and by east: then our latitude was 74 degrees, 38 minutes, and we had no ground at 200 fathoms. In the after-noone the wind came at south south-east, and south-east and by east. This day and night wee had cleere weather, and we were
Dark blue sea. here come into a blacke blue sea.

The *ninth*, cleere weather, the wind came at south-east and by east: from the last day till this day noone, wee had a good way north-east, in latitude of 75 degrees, 29 minutes: then we entred into ice, being the first we saw in this voyage: our hope was to go through it; we stood into it, and

held our course betweene north-east and east north-east, loosing for one, and bearing roome for another, till foure in the afternoone: at which time we were so farre in, and the ice so thicke and firme ahead, being in it foure or five leagues, that wee had endangered us somewhat too farre; wee returned as wee went in, and with a few rubbes of our ship against the ice; by eight a clocke this eevening wee got free of it. Wee made our way till next day at noone, south-west and by south, 18 leagues: in the middest of this way wee had no ground at 180 fathoms. The *tenth*, in the morning, hasey weather; but at noone it cleered up, and then we cast about, and stood away north and by east, the wind being at east south-east, two watches, five leagues: then we had the wind at east; we cast about, and stood south south-east, and made a south way, sixe leagues. The *eleventh*, in the morning, a hard storme at east and east and by south, we strooke a hull.

The *twelfth*, in the morning, fog, and all day after cleere weather, the wind at south south-west; we steered east and by north: at noone being in the latitude 75 degrees, 30 minutes. From noone till foure a clocke, five leagues east and by north; then we saw ice ahead of us and under our lee, trending from the north-west to the north and east of us: we had sounding 100 fathom, greenish oze. Here we saw divers pieces of drift wood[1] by us driving, and streame leeches lying south south-west and north north-east. We many times saw the like since we saw the North Cape. The *thirteenth*, cleere weather, the wind at east, we made a south way 6 leagues, two watches; then we cast about, and made a north way one watch, 3 leagues ½: at twelve at night, much wind with fog, we strooke a hull and laid our ship's head to the southward. The *fourteenth*, in the fore-

[1] This wood is carried along from the North American coasts by the gulf streams. Considerable quantities of it are thrown on the shores of Spitzbergen.

noone, fog, and our shroudes were frozen: the after-noone was cleere sun-shine, and so was all the night.

The *fifteenth*, all day and night cleere sunshine; the wind at east; the latitude at noone 75 degrees, 7 minutes. We held westward by our account 13 leagues. In the after-noone the sea was asswaged; and the wind being at east we set sayle, and stood south and by east, and south south-east as we could. This morning, one of our companie looking over boord saw a mermaid, and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was cóme close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after, a sea came and overturned her: from the navill upward, her backe and breasts were like a woman's, as they say that saw her; her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behinde, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a porpesse, and speckled like a macrell.[1] Their names that saw her, were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner.

The *sixteenth*, cleere weather, the wind being at east. From the last day till this day noone we made our way south and by east 9 leagues, and from noon to eight a clocke in the eevening 6 leagues: then we cast about and stood to the northwards.

The *seventeenth*, cleere weather, the wind at south-east and by east; from the last day till this day noone, our way was north-east and by east, at noone being in the latitude of 74 degrees, 40 minutes. At after-noone we sounded, and had ground at 86 fathom, green oze, and our water whitish greene. Here we saw whales, porpoises, and the sea full of fowles: from noone to mid-night, north-east and by east; we had the sunne at lowest, on the north and by east, east-

[1] Probably a seal. Dr. Kane observes that there is something in the appearance and the movements of this animal strongly akin to those of human beings.

erly part of the compasse: latitude 74 degrees, 54 minutes. Sounding we had 92 fathoms water, oze as before.

The *eighteenth*, faire weather, the wind at south-east and by east; from mid-night till this day noone wee sayled north-east and by east, in the latitude of 75 degrees 24 minutes, and had ground at ninetie-five fathome; oze as afore. Here we had ice in our sight to the northward off us. In the after-noone, having little wind at north-east, we cast about and lay east south-east, and at sixe a clocke had ground at ninetie-five fathoms and a halfe; oze as afore. From noone to twelve a clocke at night our way was south-east, and south-east and by east, and had the sunne on the meridian north and by east halfe a point eastward. The sunnes height was 8 degrees 40 minutes. Sounding, ninetie fathom. All this day we had ice on our larboord trending: and at this time, from the north-west off us to the east south-east, I have some reason to thinke there is a tide or current setting to the northwards; the course wee held and the way we made betweene this noone and mid-night observations, doe make mee suspect it the more. Current.

The *nineteenth*, faire and warme weather, the sea smooth. Here the needle inclined under the horizon 89 degrees and a halfe, being in the latitude at noone of 75 degrees, 22 minutes; sounding wee had ground in an hundred fathom. From twelve a clocke last night till this day at noone, we accounted our way from east and by north to south-east ten leagues, having ice alwayes in our sight trending on our larboord; wee had the winde betweene north and north north-west. We saw the sunne at the lowest on the north and by east, halfe a point easterly; his height was 8 degrees, 10 minutes, which maketh the Pole's height 74 degrees, 56 minutes; sounding, we had ground in one hundred and twentie-sixe fathom. From noone to this time, wee accounted our way east and by south and east south-east, twelve leagues. Needle's inclination 89 degrees and a halfe, in 75 degrees, 22 minutes.

The *twentieth*, faire warme weather; this morning, at

foure of the clocke, wee had depth one hundred and twentie-five fathom. Heere we heard beares roar on the ice; and wee saw upon the ice and neare unto it an incredible number of seales. We had sounding one hundred and fifteen fathom, and after ground at ninetie-five fathom, sandie oze. We had the sun on the meridian north and by east, halfe a point easterly; his height was 7 degrees, 20 minutes. From twelve a clocke last night to twelve a clocke this night, our way was made good by our account, south-east and by south twelve leagues, and south-east three leagues and a halfe, the ice alwayes being on our larboord. The wind this day betweene north and north-west.

Beares roaring.

Store of seals.

The *one and twentieth*, at foure a clocke in the morning, wee sounded and had one hundred and twentie fathome, green oze, and the ice bore off us east, the wind variable; in divers courses wee made our way good south south-east; our latitude at noone being 74 degrees, 9 minutes, we were haled to the northward beyond expectation. All this day faire, cleere, and warme weather, and ice on our larboord at a north and by east sunne; being then at lowest, his height was 7 degrees, 40 minutes, which made the Pole's height 74 degrees, 33 minutes. From the last day at noone till twelve a clocke this night, by account of our ship's way, wee made our way good east north-east, sixe leagues and a halfe; whereby it doth appeare how we were haled to the northward. Heere wee had ground at one hundred and thirteene fathome, green sandie oze.

Sunne at midnight high 7 degrees, 40 minutes, in 74 degrees, 30 minutes.

The *two and twentieth*, faire cleare weather, the winde at west north-west. At eight aclocke in the morning, we had ground at one hundred and fifteene fathome, green oze. From mid-night to noone our course was north-east and by east, being in the latitude of 74 degrees, 35 minutes, and we found that our ship's way and our observation were not ;[1] but there was carefull heed taken of both. Heere

Juet's notes tell of a sudden variation of the compasse, from the north to the east one point, which had been two immediately before.

[1] Gap in the original.

we had ice a head off us, trending to the south-east, and all day before ice on our larboord. Here we stood south-east five leagues, then the ice trended south and by west sixe leagues; we sayled by it, and doubled it by eight aclocke in the eevening, and then it bore east off us. Heere, having a smooth sea, the needle inclined 85 degrees from eight a clocke to twelve, north and by east easterly. Then we had the sunne on the meridian, north and by east half a poynt easterly. The sunnes height was 7 degrees, 45 minutes, which made the latitude 74 degrees, 43 minutes.

The *three and twentieth*, in the morning, thicke fogge, the wind at north north-west. From mid-night till foure a clocke this morning, we sayled north-east five leagues, and then we were among the ice; we cast about, and stood two houres south-west, two leagues, and had no ground at one hundred and eightie fathom. Then we cast about againe, and stood east till eight a clocke, two leagues; and then it cleered up, and we had ice a head off us. And from north wee stood to south-east, and our shroudes were frozen. Then till noone wee went east and by south, foure leagues, and were neere ice on our larboord, in the latitude of 74 degrees, 30 minutes. In the after-noone, the wind being at north, wee stood two houres and a halfe, five leagues and a halfe; three houres south south-east, five leagues; one houre south-east and by south, one league and a halfe; an houre east, halfe a league, which brought eight in the eevening, alwayes ice on our larboord. This after-noone wee had some snow. From eight a clocke to mid-night south south-west, foure leagues, with ice as afore. We saw the sunne at the lowest north north-east, his height was 7 degrees, 15 minutes; the pole's height 74 degrees, 18 minutes.

The *foure and twentieth*, cleere but cold, and some snow, the wind betweene north north-east and north-east; from mid-night to foure a clocke wee stood southward, two leagues, and south-east and by east two leagues. And from foure

a clocke till noone south-east southerly, nine leagues ; sounding, we had ground in one hundred and fortie fathome. From noone to three a clocke, we stood south-east and by south, three leagues ; from three to foure, south-west and by south, one league, and had ice from the north-east to the south-east off us. From foure a clocke to eight we stood south-west, two leagues and a halfe, southward halfe a league, with ice neere us under our lead.

The *five and twentieth,* cold and cleare, the wind at east south-east; from eight a clocke last night till foure this morning our way was south and by east, foure leagues and a halfe ; sounding, we had ground in eightie fathome ; then we had little wind till noone at east north-east, and the sunne on the meridian on the south-west and by south point of the compasse ere it began to fall ; wee were in the latitude of 72 degrees, 52 minutes ; and had ice on our larboord, and our hope of passage was gone this way, by meanes of our nearnesse to Nova Zembla and the abundance of ice. We had from noone to eight a clocke in the eevening the wind between north north-east and north-east ; we stood south-east, three leagues and a halfe, and had ice on our larboord and shoalding sixtie-eight fathome.

The *sixe and twentieth,* faire sunshining weather, and little wind at east north-east. From twelve aclocke at night till foure this morning we stood southward, two leagues ; sounding wee had sixtie-sixe fathome, oaze, as afore. From foure a clocke to noone south-east and by south, foure leagues ; and had the sunne on the meridian, on the south-east and by south point of the compasse, in the latitude of 72 degrees, 25 minutes ; and had sight of Nova Zembla foure or five leagues from us, and the place called by the Hollanders Swart Cliffe,[1] bearing off south-east. In the afternoone wee

No passage that way.

Swart Cliffe.

[1] According to Dr. Beke's opinion (*De Veer,* Introduction, p. vi) identical with the *Yuzhnuy Gusinuy Muis,* or South Goose Cape of Lütke. This cape is, however, under 71° 20′, whilst on De Veer's own map the

had a fine gale at east north-east, and by eight of the clocke we had brought it to beare off us east southerly, and sayled by the shoare a league from it.

The *seven and twentieth*, all the forenoone it was almost calme; wee being two mile from the shoare, I sent my mate, Robert Juet, and John Cooke, my boatswaine, on shoare, with foure others, to see what the land would yeeld that might bee profitable, and to fill two or three caskes with water. They found and brought aboard some whales finnes, two deeres hornes, and the dung of deere, and they told me that they saw grasse on the shoare of the last yeere, and young grasse came up amongst it a shaftman long; and it was boggie ground in some places; there are many streames of snow water nigh; it was very hot on the shoare, and the snow melted apace; they saw the footings of many great beares, of deere, and foxes. They went from us at three a clocke in the morning, and came aboord at a south-east sunne; and at their comming wee saw two or three companies of morses in the sea neere us swimming, being almost calme. I presently sent my mate, Ladlow the carpenter, and sixe others a shoare, to a place where I thought the morses might come on the shoare; they found the place likely, but found no signe of any that had beene there. There was a crosse[1] standing on the shoare, much driftwood, and signes of fires that had beene made there. They saw

They goe ashore.

Swarte Klip seems about a degree farther north; 72° 15′ to 72° 20′, as far as appears by the ancient mariner's vague indications. This latitude would seem more in accordance with Hudson's observation.

[1] Such crosses were found both on Nova Zembla and on the opposite Russian shore by Barentz and his companions. They seem to have been very conspicuous, for an island and a cape were called by the Dutch *Cross Island* and *Cross Point*, only because one or two such crosses were found on them. It is a well-known fact, that the cross is not only an object of veneration among Christians, but that it is also worshipped by some heathens, quite independently of all Christian influence. Whether the signification of these crosses may be thus explained we are, however, unable to say.

the footing of very great deere and beares, and much fowle,[1] and a foxe; they brought aboord whale finnes, some mosse, flowers and greene things that did there grow. They brought also two peeces of a crosse, which they found there. The sunne was on the meridian on the north north-east, halfe a point easterly, before it began to fall. The sunnes height was 4 degrees, 45 minutes; inclination, 22 degrees, 33 minutes, which makes the latitude 72 degrees, 12 minutes. There is disagreement betweene this and the last observation; but by meanes of the cleerenesse of the sunne, the smoothnesse of the sea, and the neernesse to land, wee could not bee deceived, and care was taken in it.

The *eight and twentieth*, at foure a clocke in the morning, our boat came aboord, and brought two dozen of fowle and some egges, whereof a few were good, and a whale's finne; and wee all saw the sea full of morses, yet no signes of their being on shoare. And in this calme, from eight a clocke last evening till foure this morning, we were drawne backe to the northward, as farre as wee were the last evening at foure a clocke, by a streame or a tide;[2] and we chose rather so to drive, then to adventure the losse of an anchor and the spoyle of a cable. Heere our new ship-boate began to doe us service, and was an incouragement to my companie, which want I found the last yeere.

The *nine and twentieth*, in the morning calme, being halfe a league from the shoare, the sea being smooth the needle did encline 84 degrees; we had many morses in the sea neere us, and desiring to find where they came on shoare, wee put to with sayle and oares, towing in our boat, and rowing in our barke to get about a point of land, from whence the land did fall more easterly, and the morses did goe that way. Wee had the sunne on the meridian on the

[1] This part of Nova Zembla still abounds with fowl, and has, therefore, been called Goose Coast by Lütke.

[2] The gulf stream.

south and by west point, halfe a point to the wester part of the compasse, in the latitude of 71 degrees, 15 minutes. At two a clocke this after-noone we came to anchor in the mouth of a river, where lieth an iland in the mouth thereof, foure leagues: wee anchored from the iland in two and thirtie fathomes, blacke sandy ground. There drove much ice out of it with a streame that set out of the river or sound, and there were many morses sleeping on the ice, and by it we were put from our road twice this night; and being calme all this day, it pleased God at our need to give us a fine gale, which freed us out of danger. This day was calme, cleere and hot weather: all the night we rode still. River and iland.

The *thirtieth*, calme, hot, and faire weather; we weighed in the morning, and towed and rowed, and at noone we came to anchor neere the ile aforesaid in the mouth of the river, and saw very much ice driving in the sea, two leagues without us, lying south-east and north-west; and driving to the north-west so fast, that wee could not by twelve a clocke at night see it out of the top. At the iland where wee rode lieth a little rocke, whereon were fortie or fiftie morses lying asleepe, being all that it could hold, it being so full and little. I sent my companie ashoare to them, leaving none aboord but my boy with mee: and by meanes of their neerenesse to the water, they all got away, save one which they killed, and brought his head aboord; and ere they came aboord they went on the iland, which is reasonable high and steepe, but flat on the top. They killed and brought with them a great fowle, whereof there were many, and likewise some egges, and in an houre they came aboord. This ile is two flight-shot over in length, and one in breadth. At mid-night our anchor came home, and wee tayld aground by meanes of the strength of the streame; but by the helpe of God, wee hoved her off without hurt. In short time wee moved our ship, and rode still all night; and in the night wee had little wind at east, and east south-east.

Wee had at noone this day an observation, and were in the latitude of 71 degrees, 15 minutes.

July. The *first of July*, we saw more ice to the seaward of us; from the south-east to the north-west, driving to the north-west. At noone it was calme, and we had the sunne on the meridian, on the south and by west point, halfe a point to the westerly part of the compasse, in the latitude of 71 degrees, 24 minutes. This morning I sent my mate Everet, and foure of our companie to rowe about the bay, to see what rivers were in the same, and to find where the morses did come on land; and to see a sound or great river in the bottome of the bay, which did alwaies send out a great streame to the northwards, against the tide that came from thence: and I found the same in comming in, from the north to this place, before this. When by the meanes of the great plenty of ice, the hope of passage betweene Newland and Nova Zembla was taken away; my purpose was by the Vaygats to passe by the mouth of the river Ob, and to double that way the North Cape of Tartaria,[1] or to give reason wherefore it will not be: but being here, and hoping by the plentie of morses wee saw here, to defray the charge of our voyage; and also that this sound might for some reasons bee a better passage to the east of Nova Zembla then the Vaygats, if it held according to my hope conceived by the likenesse it gave: for whereas we had a floud came from the northwards, yet this sound or river did runne so strong, that ice with the streame of this river was carried away, or

His purpose altered.

Strong stream.

[1] Hudson seemed to think that when he had once passed the North Cape of Tartary (Cape Tabin?), the rest of his undertaking, to reach China by a north-eastern route, would be quite easy, and hardly worth mentioning. This was also Sebastian Cabot's idea, and that of all his disciples down to our navigator. Ortelius's maps, the best expressions of the geographical dogma of the age, imply a similar belief. The northern coast of Asia, which is there drawn almost from fancy, is everywhere much too far south. The voyage from the *Promontorium Scythicum* to Cathay, or Northern China, appears on these maps as quite an easy matter.

any thing else against the floud; so that both in floud and ebbe, the streame doth hold a strong course: and it floweth from the north three houres, and ebbeth nine.

The *second*, the wind being at east south-east, it was reasonable cold, and so was *Friday*; and the morses did not play in our sight as in warme weather. This morning, at three of the clocke, my mate and companie came aboord, and brought a great deeres horne, a white locke of deeres haire, four dozen of fowle, their boat halfe laden with drift wood, and some flowers and greene things, that they found growing on the shoare. They saw a herd of white deere,[1] of ten in a companie on the land, much drift wood lying on the shoare, many good bayes, and one river faire to see to on the north shoare, for the morses to land on; but they saw no morses there, but signes that they had beene in the bayes. And the great river or sound, they certified me, was of breadth two or three leagues, and had no ground at twentie fathoms, and that the water was of the colour of the sea, and very salt, and that the streame setteth strongly out of it. At sixe a clocke this morning, came much ice from the southward driving upon us, very fearfull to looke on; but by the mercy of God and His mightie helpe, wee being moored with two anchors ahead with vering out of one cable and heaving home the other, and fending off with beames and sparres, escaped the danger; which labour continued till sixe a clocke in the eevening, and then it was past us, and we rode still and tooke our rest this night. Herde of white deere.

The *third*, the wind at north a hard gale. At three a clocke this morning wee weighed our anchor, and set sayle, purposing to runne into the river or sound before spoken of.

The *fourth*, in the morning, it cleered up, with the wind at north-west; we weighed and set sayle, and stood to the eastwards, and past over a reefe, and found on it five and a halfe, sixe, sixe and a halfe, and seven fathoms water: then

[1] See p. 38, note 1.

we saw that the sound was full, and a very large river from the north-eastward free from ice, and a strong streame comming out of it: and wee had sounding then, foure and thirty fathoms water. Wee all conceived hope of this northerly river or sound, and sayling in it, wee found three and twentie fathomes for three leagues, and after twentie fathomes for five or sixe leagues, all tough ozie ground. Then the winde vered more northerly, and the streame came down so strong, that wee could do no good on it: we came to anchor, and went to supper, and then presently I sent my mate Juet, with five more of our companie in our boat, with sayle and oares to get up the river, being provided with victuall and weapons for defence, willing them to sound as they went; and if it did continue still deepe, to goe untill it did trende to the eastward, or to the southwards, and wee rode still.

The river searched.

The *fift*, in the morning, we had the wind at west: we began to weigh anchor, purposing to set sayle and to runne up the sound after our companie: then the wind vered northerly upon us, and we saved our labour. At noone our companie came aboord us, having had a hard rought; for they had beene up the river sixe or seven leagues, and sounded it from twentie to three and twentie, and after brought it to eight, sixe, and one fathome; and then to foure foot in the best: they then went ashoare, and found good store of wilde goose quills, a piece of an old oare, and some flowers and greene things which they found growing: they saw many deere, and so did we in our after-dayes sayling.[1] They being come aboord, we presently set sayle with the wind at north north-west, and we stood out againe to the south-westwards, with sorrow that our labour was in

[1] The existence of grass and of herbivorous animals in Nova Zembla, which is flatly denied by De Veer, is clearly proved by Hudson. Lütke's observations corroborate those of our navigator: see Dr. Beke's De Veer, pp. 5, 83.

vaine: for, had this sound held as it did make shew of, for breadth, depth, safenesse of harbour, and good anchor ground, it might have yeelded an excellent passage to a more easterly sea. Generally, all the land of Nova Zembla that yet we have seene, is to a man's eye a pleasant land; much mayne high land with no snow on it, looking in some places greene, and deere feeding thereon: and the hills are partly covered with snow, and partly bare. It is no marvel that there is so much ice in the sea toward the pole, so many sounds and rivers being in the lands of Nova Zembla and Newland to ingender it; besides the coasts of Pechora, Russia, and Groenland, with Lappia, as by proofes I finde by my travell in these parts: by meanes of which ice I suppose there will be no navigable passage this way. This eevening wee had the wind at west and by south: we therefore came to anchor under Deere Point; and it was a storme at sea; wee rode in twentie fathomes ozie ground: I sent my mate, Ladlow, with foure more ashoare to see whether any morses were on the shoare, and to kill some fowle; for we had seen no morses since Saturday, the second day of this moneth, that wee saw them driving out of the ice. They found good landing for them, but no signe that they had beene there; but they found that fire had beene made there, yet not lately. At ten of the clocke in the eevening, they came aboord, and brought with them neere an hundred fowles called wellocks: this night it was wet, fogge, and very thicke and cold, the winde at west south-west.

Nova Zembla pleasant to the eye.

Cause of much ice in those seas, which make no navigable passage.

The *sixt*, in the morning, wee had the wind stormie and shifting; betweene the west and south-west, against us for doing any good: we rode still and had much ice driving by us to the eastward of us. At nine of the clocke this eevening wee had the wind at north north-west: we presently weighed, and set sayle, and stood to the westward, being out of hope to find passage by the north-east: and my pur-

Willoughbies land a conceit of card-makers: it seeming to be no other than New-land or Greenland (as is before observed, cap. 2) as Costing Sarch, of Brunell, is to others Nova Zembla.

pose was now to see whether Willoughbies Land[1] were, as it is layd in our cardes; which if it were, wee might finde morses on it, for with the ice they were all driven from hence. This place upon Nova Zembla, is another then that which the Hollanders call Costing Sarch, discovered by Oliver Brownell: and William Barentson's observation doth witnesse the same.[2] It is layd in plot by the Hollanders out of his true place too farre north: to what end I know not, unlesse to make it hold course with the compasse, not respecting the variation. It is as broad and like to yeeld passage as the Vaygats, and my hope was, that by the strong streame it would have cleered it selfe; but it did not. It is so full of ice that you will hardly thinke it. All this day, for the most part it was fogge and cold.

Note.

The *seventh*, cleere but cold weather: in the morning the wind was at the north; from the last eevening to this morning, we set saile and kept our course west and by south, fifteene leagues: from morning to eight a clocke in the eevening it was calme: then we had the wind againe at

[1] The fact we here learn is important. Willoughby's land was, on the charts used by Hudson, laid down as part of Nova Zembla; rather south than north of 72°. When we consider how careful Hudson was in collecting information, and further, that he was sent out by the only persons in England who had an interest in north-eastern discovery (the Muscovy Company), it becomes almost a certainty that Willoughby's land was, *in* 1608, *by the English* not thought identical with Spitzbergen (the Greenland of Barentz and Hudson). If commercial jealousy of the Dutch, the real discoverers of Spitzbergen, had not a short time after Hudson's voyage raised the almost absurd belief in that identity, the scholars of our time would have been spared much labour. Purchas himself is the most earnest, we might, perhaps, say the most insolent, defender of the erroneous idea, which has been ably disproved by Mr. Rundall, in his work on northern voyages, Introduction, p. ix, where all the arguments bearing on both sides of the question may be found.

[2] The mere amateur reader will hardly care about the intrinsic geographical questions involved in this sentence. The geographical scholar will find them most amply and satisfactorily discussed, with special reference to the present passage, by Dr. Beke in his Introduction to De Veer, pp. xxxii to l.

north, and we sayled till nine a clocke next morning west south-west, eight leagues; then the wind being west and by south, wee went north and by west, three leagues, and wee had the sunne at the highest south south-west, in the latitude of 71 degrees, 2 minutes. The *eight*, faire weather; at noone we had the wind at east north-east, we stood north three leagues till foure a clocke: then the wind being at west and by north, wee stemmed north and by west one league and a halfe, till six a clocke in the eevening; then the wind was at north-east a hard gale, and wee stood till next day at noone west and by north, by account three and twentie leagues: we had the sunne on the meridian, south and by west, halfe a point neerest west, in the latitude of 70 degrees, 41 minutes. The *ninth*, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, we sayled south-west and by west twelve leagues, and northward three leagues; and in these courses had these soundings, 41, 42, 46, 48, and 45 fathoms: we had the sunne south and by west, halfe a point to the west part of the compasse. The sea was loftie: our latitude was 70 degrees, 20 minutes.

The *tenth*, cleere but close weather: from this till next day noone wee had little wind at west north-west: by account we made our way five leagues north-easterly. Wee had the sun at the highest on the south and by west point, and a terce westward, in the latitude of 70 degrees, 55 minutes, and I thinke we had a rustling tide under us; and in this time had sounding betweene fortie-five and fortie fathomes, white sand. The *eleventh*, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, little wind at north north-east and sometimes calme; wee sayled west and by north by account five leagues; and had the sunne on the meridian on the south and by west point one-third west in the latitude of 70 degrees, 26 minutes, and found a rustling under us. This fore-noone we were come into a greene sea, of the colour of the mayne ocean, which we first lost the *eight of*

Greene sea.

June: since which time wee have had a sea of a blacke blue colour, which (both by the last and this yeeres experience) is a sea pestered with ice.

The *twelfth*, faire weather: from noone to midnight wee had the wind shifting betweene the north and west; our course was betweene west north-west and south south-west. Then we had the wind at south; we sayled till the next day at noone, west and by north, thirteene leagues; wee accounted our way from the last day till this day noone westward, eighteene leagues. This after-noone wee saw more porpoises then in all our voyage afore. The *thirteenth*, close weather: in the after-noone having much wind at south, with short sayle we stood away west and by north, till eight a clocke in the eevening: then we had the wind at south, but most times calme till noone the next day: wee stood away as afore, foure leagues, which made in all twelve leagues: we had the sunne ere it began to fall, south and by west, in the latitude of 70 degrees, 22 minutes.

The *fourteenth*, wee stood west north-west till midnight, seventeene leagues: then the wind scanted and came at west, we stood north north-west, one league and a halfe; then the wind being more southerly, wee sayled west north-west five leagues. From the last till this day at noone, our way was out of divers courses north-west and by west, foure and twentie leagues. We had the sunne beginning to fall at south and by west, in the latitude of 70 degrees, 54 minutes.

Thunder. The *fifteenth*, faire; but towards night like to be stormie with thunder, the wind betweene south and south south-east; from this, till the *sixteenth* day at noone, our course was west and by north, seven and twentie leagues, and the sunne then began to fall at south, three quarters of a point westward, in the latitude of 70 degrees, 42 minutes. The *sixteenth*, faire; our way was from this till next day at noone north-west, twelve leagues, out of divers courses: and we

had the wind shifting, sometimes at east, at west south-west, and west and by north; the latitude, by a bad observation, 71 degrees, 44 minutes. The *seventeenth*, in the fore-noone, faire; the wind being at west and by north. At foure a clocke this morning we saw land beare off us, west and south-south-west, which was about Ward-house:[1] this afternoone wee had a storme at west and by north, we layed it to trie till eight a clocke in the eevening, and then set sayle with the wind betweene west north-west and north-west: our course till the next day at noone was south-west and by south, twelve leagues: the Cape Hopewell[2] bore off us south south-west, and we were foure or five leagues from land.

The *eighteenth*, gusty, with raine all the fore-noone; then we had the wind shifting till next day at noone from south south-east to east, and south-east: our course in generall was north-west, foure and twentie leagues: then did North Kene beare off us west halfe a point southward, being from us foure leagues; and the North Cape in sight bearing west and by north, etc.

The *seven and twentieth*, cold, with raine and storme; this night we began to burne candle in the betacle, which we had not done since the *nineteenth of May*, by reason wee had alwaies day from thence till now. The *thirtieth*, we had the sunne upon the meridian due south, in the latitude of 68 degrees, 46 minutes; whereby we found us to bee afore our ship, ten or twelve leagues, and Lowfoot[3] bore east of us, but not in sight. No night in ten weekes.

The *seventh of August*, I used all diligence to arrive at London, and therefore now I gave my companie a certificate under my hand, of my free and willing return, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them: for at my being at Nova Zembla, the *sixt of July*, voide of hope of a

[1] Vardoëhuus Island, 70° 35′ N., 31° E, in the White Sea, close to the coast of Finmark.

[2] North-west of Vardoëhuus Island.

[3] The Luffoden Islands.

north-east passage (except by the Waygats, for which I was not fitted to trie or prove), I therefore resolved to use all meanes I could to sayle to the north-west; considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind should friend us, as in the first part of our voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called Lumleys Inlet,[1] and the furious over-fall by Captain Davis, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now having spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by means of contrary winds, I thought it my duty to save victuall, wages, and tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge upon the action then necessitie should compell, I arrived at Gravesend the *sixe and twentieth of August.*

[1] See Hakluyt, x, 3 (Purchas). The journal of Captain Davis, to which Purchas refers, is not clear enough to allow us to fix the situation of Lumley's inlet with any degree of certainty. The inlet was perhaps identical with Hudson's strait, or perhaps somewhat further north, where modern geographers place Frobisher's strait. The maps of these regions are still too unsatisfactory to afford a fair ground for any guesses about the real meaning of the still vaguer indications of the early navigators.

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF MASTER HENRY HUDSON,

TOWARD NOVA ZEMBLA, AND AT HIS RETURNE, HIS PASSING FROM FARRE ISLANDS TO NEW-FOUND LAND, AND ALONG TO FORTIE-FOURE DEGREES AND TEN MINUTES, AND THENCE TO CAPE COD, AND SO TO THIRTIE-THREE DEGREES; AND ALONG THE COAST TO THE NORTHWARD, TO FORTIE-TWO DEGREES AND AN HALFE, AND UP THE RIVER NEERE TO FORTIE-THREE DEGREES.

Written by Robert Juet, of Lime-house.

On Saturday, the *five and twentieth of March*, 1609, after the old account, we set sayle from Amsterdam, and by the *seven and twentieth* day, we were downe at the Texel: and by twelve of the clocke we were off the land, it being east of us two leagues off. And because it is a journey usually knowne, I omit to put downe what passed till we came to the height of the North Cape of Finmarke, which we did performe by the *fift of May* (*stilo novo*), being Tuesday. May 5, *stilo novo.* On which day we observed the height of the pole, and found it to bee 71 degrees, and 46 minutes; and found our compasse to vary six degrees to the west; and at twelve of the clocke, the North Cape did beare south-west and by south tenne leagues off, and wee steered away east and by south and east.

After much trouble, with fogges sometimes, and more dangerous of ice. The *nineteenth*, being Tuesday, was close stormie weather, with much wind and snow, and very cold: the wind variable betweene the north north-west and north-east. We made our way west and by north till noone.

Then we observed the sunne having a slake,[1] and found our heigth to bee 70 degrees, 30 minutes. And the ship had out-runne us twentie leagues, by reason of the set of the streame of the White Sea: and we had sight of Wardhouse.[2] Then at two of the clocke wee tackt to the eastward: for we could not get about the North Cape, the wind was so scant; and at eight of the clocke at night, on the *one and twentieth*, the North Cape did beare south-east and by south seven leagues off. And at mid-night Assumption Point[3] did beare south and by east, five leagues off us.

Beala More. Wardhouse.

They doubled the North Cape.

Assumption Point.

The *two and twentieth*, gusting weather, with haile and snow, the sunne breaking out sometimes: we continued our course along the land west south-west. And at tenne of the clocke at night we were thwart off Zenam.[4] The bodie of it did beare east off us five leagues: and the course from the North Cape to Zenam is for the most part west and by south, and west south-west, fiftie-foure leagues.

Zenam.

The *three and twentieth*, faire sunshining weather; the wind at east and by south, and east south-east; wee steered along the land south-west, and south-west and by west, eight leagues a watch, for so we found the land to lye from Zenam to Lofoote.[5] And the distance is fiftie leagues from the bodie of Zenam to the westermost land of Lofoote.[6] And from the one to the other, the course is south-west and

[1] A spot? The word *slake*, as a substantive, seems to be a north country word, meaning, according to Brocket, "an accumulation of mud or slime, from *slijck*, cœnum, lutum." If Hudson observed a spot on the sun the 21st of March, 1609, he was undoubtedly the earliest discoverer of this most interesting phenomenon; the observation of Thomas Hariot, which is considered as the first on record, being more than a year and a half later (Dec. 8th, 1610). Hudson had the disadvantage of observing without a telescope.

[2] Vardoëhuus Island.

[3] Evidently to the south-east of the North Cape, probably a cape on one of the neighbouring islands, Maasöe, Jehnsöe, or Igenöe.

[4] Probably the island of Senjen, lat. 69° 25′, long. 17° E., lying west of Norway, close to the coast.

[5] The Luffoden Islands. [6] Vacrö Island, lat. 67° 40′, long. 11° 36′ E.

by west. For the needle of our compasse was set right to the north. At twelve of the clocke at night, the bodie of Lofoote did beare south-east, sixe leagues off. Lofoote.

The *foure and twentieth*, faire cleere sun-shining weather: the wind variable upon all points of the compasse, but most upon the south-east, and sometimes calme. We continued our course west south-west as before. And at eight of the clocke at night the souther part of Lofoote did beare south-east ten leagues off us. No variation.

The *five and twentieth*, much wind at north-east, with some snow and haile. The first watch the wind came to the east a fine gale, and so came to the north-east, the second watch, at foure of the clocke, and freshed in: and at eight of the clocke it grew to a storme, and so continued. At noone we observed, and made the ship to be in 67 degrees, 58 minutes. Wee continued our course south-west twelve leagues a watch. At nine of the clocke, Lofoote did beare east of us 15 leagues off. And we found the compasse to have no variation. The wind increased to a storme.

The *sixe and twentieth*, was a great storme at the north north-east, and north-east. Wee steered away south-west afore the wind with our fore course abroad: for we were able to maintayne no more sayles, it blew so vehemently, and the sea went so high, and brake withall, that it would have dangered a small ship to lye under the sea. So we skudded seventy leagues in foure and twentie houres. The storme began to cease at foure of the clocke.

The *seven and twentieth*, indifferent faire weather, but a good stiffe gale of wind at north, and north north-east; wee held on our course as before. At noone wee observed and found our heigth to be 64 degrees, 10 minutes. And wee perceived that the current had hindered us in fortie-eight houres to the number of 16 leagues to our best judgement. We set our mayne-sayle, sprit-sayle, and our mayne-top-sayle, and held on our course all night, having faire weather. A great current setting to the north-east.

The *eight and twentieth*, faire weather and little wind at north-east, we held on our course south-west. At noone wee observed the heigth, and were in 62 degrees, and 30 minutes. The after-noone was little wind at north north-west. The second watch it fell calme. At foure of the clocke wee had sight of the iles called Farre,[1] and found them to lye out of their place in the sea chart fourteene leagues to farre westerly. For in running south-west from Lofoote, wee had a good care to our steerage and observations; and counted ourselves thirtie leagues off by our course and observation, and had sight of them sixteene or eighteene leagues off.

Farre Iles set 14 leagues to farre west.

The *nine and twentieth*, faire weather, sometimes calme and sometimes a gale, with the wind varying at south-west, and so to the north-east. Wee got to the ilands, but could not get in. So we stood along the ilands. The ebbe being come, we durst not put in.

Thirtieth, faire weather; the wind at south-east, and east south-east. In the morning we turned into a road in Stromo, one of the Ilands of Farre, betweene Stromo and Muggenes, and got in by nine of the clocke, for it flowed so there that day. And as soone as we came in we went to romage, and sent our boat for water, and filled all our empty caskes with fresh water. Wee made an end of our romaging this night by ten of the clocke.

Stromo.

The *one and thirtieth*, faire sunshining weather, the wind at east south-east. In the fore-noone our master with most of his company went on shoare to walke, and at one of the clocke they returned aboard. Then we set sayle.

June. The *first of June, stilo novo*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at east south-east. We continued on our course south-west and by west. At noone wee observed the sunne, and found our heigth to be sixty degrees, fifty-eight minutes: and so continued on our course all night

[1] The Faroe Islands, lat. 61° 40′ N.; long. 6′ 30° W.

with faire weather. This night we lighted candles in the bittacle[1] againe.

The *second*, mystie weather, the wind at north-east. At noone we steered away west south-west to find Busse Iland,[2] discovered in the yeere 1578 by one of the ships of Sir Martin Frobisher, to see if it lay in her true latitude in the chart or no: wee continued our course as before all night, with a faire gale of wind: this night we had sight of the first stars, and our water was changed colour to a white greene. The compasse had no variation.

Busse Iland.

Their first sight of stars: for further north they had continuall sunlight.

Change of water.

The *third*, faire sun-shining weather; the wind at north-east. We steered on our course south-west and by west, with a stiffe gale of wind. At noone we observed and found our heigth to bee 58 degrees, 48 minutes. And I was before the ship 16 leagues, by reason of the current that held us so strong out of the south-west. For it is eight leagues in foure and twentie houres. We accounted our selves neere Busse Iland: by mid-night wee looked out for it, but could not see it.[3]

A strange current out of the south-west.

The *fourth*, in the morning, was much wind, with fogge and raine. Wee steered away south-west by west all the fore-noone, the wind so increasing that wee were enforced to take in our top-sale: the winde continuing so all the after-noone. Wee steered away south-west all the fore-part of the night; and at ten of the clocke at night it was little wind, and that was south, and so came up to the south south-east.

The *fift*, stormie weather, and much wind at south and

[1] The bittacle is a close place in which the compasse standeth.

[2] It is impossible to indicate the real situation of Busse Island, which was discovered by one of Frobisher's ships on its return to England. The accounts of this voyage which have come down to us are even more unsatisfactory than most of the geographical materials of this period. Frobisher's discoveries have always been, and still are, a puzzle to geographers.

[3] They would probably not have found it, even in daylight.

south by east, so that at foure of the clocke in the morning we tooke in our fore-sayle, and lay a try with our mayne corse, and tryed away west north-west foure leagues. But at noone it was lesse wind, and the sunne showed forth, and we observed and found our heigth to be 56 degrees, 21 minutes. In the after-noone the wind vered to and fro betweene the south-west and the south-east, with raine and fogge, and so continued all night. Wee found that our ship had gone to the westward of our course. The *sixth*, thicke hasie weather, with gusts of wind and showers of raine. The wind varied betweene east south-east and south-west, wee steered on many courses a west south-west way. The after-noone watch the wind was at east south-east, a stiffe gale with myst and raine. Wee steered away south-west by west eight leagues. At noone the sunne shone forth, and we found the heigth to bee 56 degrees, 8 minutes. The *seventh*, faire sun-shining weather all the fore-noone, and calme untill twelve of the clocke. In the after-noone the wind came to the north-west, a stiffe gale. Wee steered south-west by west, and made a south-west way. At noone we found the height to bee 56 degrees, one minute, and it continued all night a hard gale. The *eight*, stormy weather, the wind variable betweene west and north-west, much wind: and at eight of the clocke wee tooke off our bonnets. At noone the sunne shewed forth and wee observed, and our height was 54 degrees, 30 minutes. The *ninth*, faire sun-shining weather, and little wind all the fore part of the daye untill eleven of the clocke. Then the wind came to the south south-east, and we steered away west south-west. At noone we found our height to bee 53 degrees and 45 minutes, and we had made our way south by west ten leagues. In the after-noone the wind increased, and continued all night at east north-east and east.

Note well.

Bonets are those which are laced and eeked to the sayles to enlarge them: with reference whereto the mayne course, missen course, fore course, is understood of those sayles without their bonets.

The *tenth*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene east north-east and south-east; wee steered on our course as

before. At foure of the clock in the afternoone the wind came up at south-east. And we held on our course as before. At noone wee observed and found our height to be 52 degrees, 35 minutes.

The *eleventh*, in the morning, was thicke and foggie, the winde varying betweene south south-west and north west. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee tackt about to the southward: at eleven of the clocke the winde came to the north-west, and so to the west north-west. This day we had change of water, of a whitish greene, like to the ice water to the north-west. At noone it cleered up, and became very faire weather: wee put out our mayne top-sayle: then we observed the sunne, and found our height to be 51 degrees, 24 minutes. We had sayled many courses and found our ship gone to the southward of our account ten leagues, by reason of a current from the north-ward.[1] The compasse varied one point to the east.

A current from the north. Variation one point east.

The *twelfth*, faire sun-shining weather, but much wind at the west: we stood to the southward all day, the wind shifting betweeп the south-west and the west and by north. Wee made our way south halfe a point west, eight and twentie leagues. Our height at noone was 50 degrees, 9 minutes. At eight of the clock at night we took off our bonets, the wind increasing.

The *thirteenth*, faire sun-shining weather: the wind variable betweene the west and north north-west. Wee made our way south south-west, seven and twentie leagues. At noone we observed, and found our height to be 48 degrees, 45 minutes, but not to be trusted, the sea went so high. In the after-noone the winde was calmer, and wee brought to our bonets, and stood to the southward all night with a stiffe gale.

The *fourteenth*, faire and cleere sun-shining weather: the winde variable betweene the north-west and south-west by

[1] The Arctic current, from Davis' and Hudson's Straits to the south.

west. At midnight I observed the north starre at a north-west by west guarde; a good observation 49 degrees, 30 minutes. And at noone wee observed the sunne, and our height was 48 degrees, 6 minutes. And I made account we ranne betweene the two observations twelve leagues. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the westward, and stood so all night: the winde increased to a storme, and was very much winde with raine.

Latitude 48 degrees, 6 minutes.

The *fifteenth,* we had a great storme, and spent* over-boord our fore-mast, bearing our fore corse low set. The *sixteenth,* we were forced to trie with our mayne sayle, by reason of the unconstant weather. So wee tried foure watches, south-east and by south eight leagues and an halfe, two watches, sixe leagues. The *seventeenth,* reasonable faire weather: the wind variable betweene west south-west and west north-west. And a stiffe gale of wind, and so great a swelling sea out of the west south-west, that wee could doe nothing. So one watch and an halfe wee drove north foure leagues and a halfe, and foure watches and an halfe south and by east halfe a point east twelve leagues. The *eighteenth,* reasonable weather but close and cloudie, and an hard gale of wind, and a great sea. The winde being at the north-west, wee lay to the southward, and made our drift south and by west, five leagues. The after-noone prooved little wind, and the night part calme. The *nineteenth,* in the fore-noone, faire weather and calme. In the morning we set the piece of our fore mast, and set our fore corse.

* To spend the mast, is understood of breaking it by foule weather only.

The *one and twentieth,* faire sun-shining weather, but much wind and a great sea. We split our fore sayle at ten of the clocke; then we laid it a trie* with our mayne sayle, and continued so all day. In the night it fell to be little wind. This day our heigth was 45 degrees, 48 minutes.

* That is, bare no more sayle but the mayne sayle, etc.

The *two and twentieth,* very faire sun-shining weather, and calme all the after-noone. At noone we made a very

good observation, and found our heigth 44 degrees, 58 minutes. At eight of the clocke at night wee had a small gale of winde at south-east. And wee steered away west for Newfound Land.[1] The true compasse varied one point east. Variation.

The *three and twentieth*, thicke weather with much wind and some raine. At eight of the clocke in the morning, the wind came to the west south-west and west so stiffe a gale, that we were forced to take our top-sayle, and steered away north north-west untill foure of the clock in the after-noone. Then we tact to the southward, the winde at west north-west. At eight of the clocke at night wee tooke in our top-sayles, and laid it a trie with our mayne sayle, the winde at west.

The *foure and twentieth*, a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene the west and north north-west; we tried till sixe of the clocke: at which time we set our fore saile, and steered way west and by south by our compasse eight leagues in foure watches; and wee tried away south in one watch and an halfe.

The *five and twentieth*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at north north-west and north, we steered away west by south by our compasse till twelve of the clocke: at which time we had sight of a sayle and gave her chase, but could not speake with her. She stood to the eastward; and we stood after her till sixe of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee tact to the westward againe, and stood on our course. It was faire all night, and little wind sometimes.

[1] *Newfoundland* was, in Hudson's time, a very vague term. The coasts which it seems to embrace were so imperfectly known, that a strict geographical interpretation of the term is quite impossible. It was, by authors and seamen, applied to all the North American coasts along which the codfisheries were established. Hudson himself includes under the name of Newfoundland the coast down to about 43° 20′, that is to say, *Nova Scotia*. Although Hudson's *Newfoundland* stretches thus much farther south than the island which still bears that time-honoured name, the island formed even then the main part of *Newfoundland*.

The *six and twentieth*, all the forepart of the day very faire weather and hot, but at foure of the clocke in the afternoone it grew to bee much winde and raine: the winde was at south south-east. At noone wee observed and found our heigth to bee 44 degrees, 33 minutes. At eight of the clocke at night the wind came to the south-west, and west south-west. Wee steered north-west, one watch, and at twelve in the night to the west, and west and by south, very much wind. So we could lye but north north-west.

The *seven and twentieth*, very much winde and a soare storme, the wind westerly. In the morning, at foure of the clocke, wee tooke in our fore-corse, and layd it a trie with our mayne-corse low set; and so continued all the day and night, two watches to the northward. At eight of the clocke at night, we tackt to the southward.

The *eight and twentieth*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at west and by south; we lay a trie to the southward till eight of the clocke in the morning. Then we set our fore-corse, and stood to the southward, a stiffe gale of wind, but faire weather and a great sea out of the wester-boord, and so continued all night.

The *nine and twentieth*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at west and by south; we stood to the southward untill sixe of the clocke at night, and made our way south and by east foure leagues. Then the winde came to the south-west, and wee cast about to the westward, and made our way west north-west all night. At noone, I found the height 43 degrees, 6 minutes. The variation one point west.

The *thirtieth*, faire sun-shining weather, the winde at south-west and by west; we steered north-west and by west, and made our way so, by reason of the variation of the compasse. At noone, I found the height to bee 43 degrees, 18 minutes; wee continued our course all night, and made our way north-west and by west, halfe a point westerly, five and twentie leagues.

The *first of July*, close, mystie and thicke weather, but a faire gale of wind at south-west, and south-west by south. We steered away north-west and by west westerly, and made our way so, by reason of the variation of the compasse. At eight of the clocke at night wee sounded for the banke of New-found Land,[1] but could get no ground. July. The Banke of New-found Land.

The *second*, thicke mystie weather, but little wind, and that at west and west and by south. At eight of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the southward, and when our ship was on stayes, we sounded for the banke, and had ground in thirtie fathoms, white sand and shells, and presently it cleered: and we had sight of a sayle, but spake not with her. In the night wee had much rayne, thunder and lightning, and wind shifting.

The *third*, faire sun-shining weather, with a faire gale of wind at east north-east, and wee steered away west south-west by our compasse, which varyed 17 degrees westward. This morning we were among a great fleet of French-men, which lay fishing on the banke; but we spake with none of them. At noone wee found our heighth to bee 43 degrees, 41 minutes. And we sounded at ten of the clocke, and had thirtie fathoms gray sand. At two of the clocke wee sounded, and had five and thirtie fathoms, gray sand. At eight of the clocke at night we sounded againe, and had eight and thirtie fathoms, gray sand as before. Variation west, 17 degrees. French-men fishing on the banke.

The *fourth*, at the fore-part of the day cleere, with a faire gale of wind, but variable betweene the east north-east and south and by east; wee held on our course as before. The after-noone was mystie, the wind shifting betweene the south and the west till foure of the clocke. Then we tooke in our top-sayle and sprit-sayle, and sounded and had no ground in seventie fathoms. The winde shifted still untill eight of the clocke, then it came to the north north-east and

[1] Probably near *Cape Sable*, the most southern point of Nova Scotia; lat. 43° 22′ N.; long. 60° 35′ W. See note at p. 53.

north-east and by north, and wee steered away west north-west by our varyed compasse, which made a west way halfe point north. The compasse varyed 15 degrees from the north to the west.

The *fift*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at north-east and by north; we steered away west north-west, which was west halfe a point north. At noone we found our heighth to be 44 degrees, 10 minutes, and sounded and had no ground in one hundred fathoms. The after-noone proved calme sometimes, and sometimes little wind, untill nine of the clocke in the night. Then the wind came to the east, and we held on our course. At midnight I observed and found the height to bee 44 degrees, 10 minutes, by the north starre and the scorpions heart. The compasse varyed 13 degrees.

Variation 13 degrees.

The *sixth*, the forepart of the day faire weather, and a stiffe gale of wind betweene south south-east and south-west; wee steered west and by north and west north-west. The after-part of the day, from two of the clocke, was all foggie and thicke weather; the wind a hard gale, varying betweene south-west and by south and west and by north; we made our way north-west halfe a point northerly, nineteene leagues, upon many points foure watches. At night, at eight of the clocke, we sounded and had no ground at one hundred fathoms.

Foggie and thick weather.

The *seventh*, faire sun-shining weather, the wind varying betweene west and by north and west and by south. At foure of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the southward, and stood so till one in the after-noone. At noone we found our height to be 44 degrees, 26 minutes. At seven of the clocke we tackt to the northward. At eight at night we tackt to the southward and sounded, and had nine and fiftie fathoms, white sand.

The *eight*, in the fore-noone faire weather, but the morning foggie till seven of the clocke. At foure of the clocke

in the morning we sounded, and had five and fortie fathoms, fine white sand, and we had runne five leagues south and by west. Then wee stood along one glasse, and went one league as before. Then we stood one glasse and sounded, and had sixtie fathoms. Then we tackt and stood backe to the banke, and had five and twentie fathoms; and tryed for fish, and it fell calme, and we caught one hundred and eighteene great coddes, from eight a clocke till one, and and after dinner wee tooke twelve, and saw many great scoales of herrings. Then wee had a gale of wind at south; and it shifted to the west north-west, and wee stood three glasses and sounded and had sixtie fathomes, and stood two glasses and had two and fortie fathoms, red stones and shells. So wee sounded every glasse, and had severall soundings 35, 33, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34 fathoms.

Many great cods taken.

Many great scoales of herrings.

To sound is to trie the depth by line and lead, or pole, etc.

The *ninth*, faire calme weather; we lay becalmed all day and caught some fish, but not much, because we had small store of salt. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee had a gale at south-east and south south-east, and we steered away westerly; our compasse was west and by south halfe a point south. At foure of the clocke we sounded and had but fifteene, seventeene, and nineteene fathoms on a fishing banke; and we sounded every glasse. Then we could get no ground in five and twentie fathoms, and had sight of a sayle on head off us. At noone our height was 44 degrees, 27 minutes. We stood to the westward all night, and spake with a French-man, which lay fishing on the banke of Sablen,[1] in thirtie fathoms, and we saw two or three more.

The *tenth*, very mystie and thicke weather, the wind at south-west, a faire gale. We stood to the south-ward, and made our way south-east and by east. At twelve of the clocke we sounded, and had eight and fortie fathoms: againe at two we sounded, and had fiftie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke we sounded, and had eight and fortie fathoms on

[1] Banc des Sables, off Mahone Bay.

the end of the banke. Againe at eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had no ground in eightie fathomes, and were over the banke. So wee stood along till mid-night. The compasse varyed seventeen degrees to the west-ward.

Variation 17 degrees.

The *eleventh*, very thicke and mystie weather. At twelve of the clocke at night we cast about to the westward, and stood so all day, and made our way west north-west. We sounded at twelve of the clocke, but had no ground; so we stood to the westward all the fore part of the night and sounded, but could get no ground in fiftie or sixtie fathoms till mid-night. Then I sounded and had ground at fifteene fathoms, white sand.

The *twelfth* was very foggie, we stood our course all the morning till eleven of the clocke; at which time we had sight of the land, which is low white sandie ground, right on head off us; and had ten fathoms. Then we tackt to the southward, and stood off foure glasses: then we tackt to the land againe, thinking to have rode under it, and as we came neere it the fog was so thicke that we could not see; so wee stood off againe. From mid-night to two of the clocke we came sounding in twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathoms off the shoare. At foure of the clocke we had 20 fathoms. At eight of the clocke at night, 30 fathoms. At twelve of the clocke, 65 fathoms, and but little winde, for it deeped apace, but the neerer the shoare the fairer shoalding.

Land being low, white and sandie.

The *thirteenth*, faire sun-shining weather, from eight of the clocke in the fore-noone all day after, but in the morning it was foggie. Then at eight of the clocke we cast about for the shoare, but could not see it; the wind being at south by our true compasse, wee steered west and by north. At noone we observed, and found our height to bee 43 degrees, 25 minutes; so we steered away west and by north all the after-noone. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone we sounded, and had five and thirtie fathoms; and at sixe of

43 degrees, 25 minutes.

the clocke wee had sight of the land, and saw two sayles on head off us. The land by the waters side is low land, and white sandie bankes rising, full of little hils. Our soundings were 35, 33, 30, 28, 32, 37, 33, and 32 fathoms. Sight of land againe, and of two ships.

The *fourteenth*, full of mysts, flying and vading the wind betweene south and south-west; we steered away west north-west, and north-west and by west. Our soundings were 29, 25, 24, 25, 22, 25, 27, 30, 28, 30, 35, 43, 50, 70, 90, 70, 64, 86, 100 fathoms, and no ground.

The *fifteenth*, very mystie, the winde varying betweene south and south-west; wee steered west and by north, and west north-west. In the morning we sounded, and had one hundred fathoms, till foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then we sounded againe, and had seventie-five fathoms. Then in two glasses running, which was not above two English miles, we sounded and had sixtie fathoms, and it shoalded a great pace untill we came to twentie fathoms. Then we made account we were neere the islands that lie off the shoare. So we came to an anchor, the sea being very smooth and little wind, at nine of the clocke at night. After supper we tryed for fish, and I caught fifteene cods, some the greatest that I have seene, and so we rode all night.

The *sixteenth*, in the morning, it cleered up, and we had sight of five islands lying north, and north and by west from us, two leagues. Then wee made ready to set sayle, but the myst came so thicke that we durst not enter in among them. Five islands.

The *seventeenth*, was all mystie, so that we could not get into the harbour. At ten of the clocke two boats came off to us, with sixe of the savages of the countrey, seeming glad of our comming. We gave them trifles, and they eate and dranke with us; and told us that there were gold, silver, and copper mynes hard by us; and that the French-men doe trade with them; which is very likely, for one of them spake some words of French. So wee rode still all day and all night, the weather continuing mystie. Sixe savages come aboord them.

The *eighteenth*, faire weather, wee went into a very good harbour, and rode hard by the shoare in foure fathom water.

A large river. The river runneth up a great way, but there is but two fathoms hard by us. We went on shoare and cut us a fore mast; then at noone we came aboord againe, and found the

44 degrees, 1 minute. height of the place to bee in 44 degrees, 1 minute, and the sunne to fall at a south south-west sunne. We mended our sayles, and fell to make our fore-mast. The harbour lyeth south and north, a mile in where we rode.

The *nineteenth*, we had faire sun-shining weather, we rode still. In the after-noone wee went with our boate to looke for fresh water, and found some; and found a shoald with many lobsters on it, and caught one and thirtie. The people coming aboord, shewed us great friendship, but we could not trust them. The *twentieth*, faire sunne-shining weather, the winde at south-west. In the morning, our scute went out to catch fresh fish halfe an houre before day, and returned in two houres, bringing seven and twentie great coddes, with two hookes and lines. In the afternoone wee went for more lobsters and caught fortie, and returned aboard. Then wee espied two French shallops full of the country people come into the harbour, but they offered us no wrong, seeing we stood upon our guard. They brought many beaver skinnes and other fine furres, which they would

The trade of the French with the salvages. have changed for redde gownes. For the French trade with them for red cassockes, knives, hatchets, copper, kettles, trevits, beades, and other trifles.

The *one and twentieth*, all mystie, the wind easterly; wee rode still and did nothing, but about our mast. The *two and twentieth*, fair sun-shining weather, the winde all northerly; we rode still all the day. In the after-noone our scute went to catch more lobsters, and brought with them nine and fiftie. The night was cleere weather.

The *three and twentieth*, faire sun-shining weather and very hot. At eleven of the clocke our fore mast was finished,

and wee brought it aboord, and set it into the step, and in the after-noone we rigged it. This night we had some little myst and rayne.

The *foure and twentieth,* very hot weather, the winde at south out of the sea. The fore-part of the day wee brought to our sayles. In the morning our scute went to take fish, and in two houres they brought with them twentie great coddes and a great holibut; the night was faire also. We kept good watch for fear of being betrayed by the people, and perceived where they layd their shallops.

The *five and twentieth,* very faire weather and hot. In the morning wee manned our scute with foure muskets and sixe men, and tooke one of their shallops and brought it aboord. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces or murderers, and drave the savages from their houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would have done of us. Then wee set sayle, and came downe to the harbours mouth, and rode there all night, because the winde blew right in, and the night grew mystie with much rayne till mid-night. Then it fell calme, and the wind came off the land at west north-west, and it began to cleere. The compasse varyed ten degrees north-north-west.

They spoyle houses of the salvages.

The *sixe and twentieth,* faire and cleere sunne-shining weather. At five of the clocke in the morning, the winde being off the shoare at north north-west, we set sayle and came to sea, and by noone we counted our ship had gone fourteene leagues south-west. In the after noone, the winde shifted variably betweene west south-west and north-west. At noone I found the height to bee 43 degrees, 56 minutes. This eevening being very faire weather, wee observed the variation of our compasse at the sunnes going downe, and found it to bee 6 degrees from the north to the westward.

Variation 10 degrees toward the north-west.

The *seven and twentieth,* faire sun-shining weather, the winde shifting betweene the south-west and west and by

north a stiffe gale; we stood to the southward all day, and made our way south and by west, seven and twentie leagues. At noone, our height was 42 degrees, 50 minutes. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the northward. At eight of the clocke, we tooke in our top-sayles and our fore-bonnet, and went with a short sayle all night.

The *eight and twentieth*, very thicke and mystie, and a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene south south-west and south-west and by west; we made our way north-west and by west, seven and twentie leagues; wee sounded many times and could get no ground. At five of the clocke we cast about to the southward, the wind at south-west and by west. At which time we sounded, and had ground at seventie-five fathoms. At eight, wee had sixtie-five fathoms. At ten, sixtie. At twelve of the clocke at mid-night, fiftie-sixe fathoms, gray sand.

Variation 6 degrees to the west.

The compasse varyed 6 degrees to the north point to the west.

The *nine and twentieth*, faire weather, we stood to the southward, and made our way south and by west a point south, eighteene leagues. At noone we found our height to be 42 degrees, 56 minutes; wee sounded oft and had these, 60, 64, 65, 67, 65, 65, 70, and 75 fathoms. At night wee tryed the variation of our compasse by the setting of the sunne, and found that it went downe 37 degrees to the northward of the west, and should have gone downe but 31 degrees. The compasse varyed 5 and a halfe degrees.

Variation 5 and a halfe degrees.

The *thirtieth*, very hot, all the fore part of the day calme, the wind at south south-east; wee steered away west south-west and sounded many times, and could find no ground at one hundred and seventie fathomes. We found a great current and many over-falls. Our current had deceived us. For at noone we found our height to be 41 degrees, 34 minutes. And the current had heaved us to the southward foureteene leagues. At eight of the clocke at night I

A great current and many over-fals.

sounded, and had ground in fiftie-two fathomes. In the end of the mid-night watch wee had fiftie-three fathomes. This last observation is not to be trusted.

The *one and thirtieth*, very thicke and mystie all day, untill tenne of the clocke. At night the wind came to the south, and south-west and south. We made our way west north-west, nineteene leagues. Wee sounded many times, and had difference of soundings, sometimes little stones, and sometimes grosse gray sand, fiftie-sixe, fiftie-foure, fortie-eight, fortie-seven, fortie-foure, fortie-sixe, fiftie fathoms; and at eight of the clocke at night it fell calme, and we had fiftie fathomes. And at ten of the clocke we heard a great rut, like the rut of the shoare. Then I sounded and found the former depth; and mistrusting a current, seeing it so still that the ship made no way, I let the lead lie on the ground, and found a tide set to the south-west, and south-west and by west, so fast, that I could hardly vere the line so fast, and presently came an hurling current, or tyde with over-fals, which cast our ship round; and the lead was so fast in the ground that I feared the lines breaking, and we had no more but that. At midnight I sounded againe, and we had seventie-five fathomes; and the strong streame had left us.

A great rut.

A current to the south-west and south-west by west with over-fals.

The *first of August*, all the fore part of the day was mystie; and at noone it cleered up. We found that our height was 41 degrees, 45 minutes, and we had gone nineteene leagues. The after-noon was reasonable cleere. We found a rustling tide or current with many over-fals to continue still, and our water to change colour, and our sea to bee very deepe, for wee found no ground in one hundred fathomes. The night was cleere, and the winde came to the north, and north-east; we steered west.

August.

The *second*, very faire weather and hot; from the morning till noone we had a gale of wind, but in the after-noone little wind. At noone I sounded, and had one hundred and

ten fathomes; and our height was 41 degrees, 56 minutes. And wee had runne four and twentie leagues and an halfe. At the sun-setting we observed the variation of the compasse, and found that it was come to his true place. At eight of the clocke the gale increased, so wee ranne sixe leagues that watch, and had a very faire and cleere night.

The *third*, very hot weather. In the morning we had sight of the land, and steered in with it, thinking to go to the northward of it. So we sent our shallop with five men to sound in by the shore: and they found it deepe five fathomes within a bow-shot of the shoare; and they went on land, and found goodly grapes and rose trees, and brought them aboord with them, at five of the clocke in the eevening. We had seven and twentie fathomes within two miles of the shoare; and we found a floud come from the south-east, and an ebbe from the north-west, with a very strong streame, and a great hurling and noyses. At eight of the clocke at night the wind began to blow a fresh gale, and continued all night but variable. Our sounding that wee had to the land was one hundred, eightie, seventie-foure, fiftie-two, fortie-sixe, twentie-nine, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, nineteene, sometimes oze, and sometimes gray sand.

They goe on land neere Cape Cod.

The *fourth*, was very hot; we stood to the north-west, two watches, and one south in for the land, and came to an anchor at the norther end of the headland, and heard the voyce of men call. Then we sent our boat on shoare, thinking they had beene some Christians left on the land: but wee found them to bee savages, which seemed very glad of our comming. So wee brought one aboard with us, and gave him meate, and he did eate and drinke with us. Our master gave him three our foure glasse buttons, and sent him on land with our shallop againe. And at our boats comming from the shoare he leapt and danced, and held up his hands, and pointed us to a river on the other side: for we had made signes that we came to fish there. The bodie

Savages.

of this headland lyeth in 41 degrees, 45 minutes.[1] We set sayle againe after dinner, thinking to have got to the westward of this headland, but could not; so we beare up to the southward of it, and made a south-east way; and the souther point did beare west at eight of the clocke at night. Our soundings about the easter and norther part of this headland, a league from the shoare, are these: at the easterside, thirtie, twentie-seven, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, twentie-five, twentie. The north-east point, 17 degrees, 18 minutes, and so deeper. The north end of this headland, hard by the shoare, thirtie fathomes: and three leagues off north north-west, one hundred fathomes. At the south-east part a league off, fifteene, sixteene, and seventeene fathomes. The people have greene tabacco and pipes, the boles whereof are made of earth and the pipes of red copper. The land is very sweet.

The *fift*, all mystie. At eight of the clocke in the morning wee tact about to the westward, and stood in till foure of the clocke in the after-noone; at which time it cleered, and wee had sight of the head-land againe five leagues from us. The souther point of it did beare west off us: and we sounded many times, and had no ground. And at foure of the clocke we cast about, and at our staying wee had seventie fathomes. Wee steered away south and south by east all night, and could get no ground at seventie and eightie fathomes. For wee feared a great riffe that lyeth off the land, and steered away south and by east.

The *sixth*, faire weather, but many times mysting. Wee steered away south south-east, till eight of the clocke in the morning; then it cleered a little, and we cast about to the westward. Then we sounded and had thirtie fathomes, grosse sand, and were come to the riffe. Then wee kept our lead, and had quicke shoalding from thirtie, twentie-nine, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, twentie-two, twentie and an halfe,

[1] At the south side of Stage Harbour, Massachusetts.

twentie, twentie, nineteene, nineteene, nineteene, eighteene, eighteene, seventeene; and so deeping againe as proportionally as it shoalded. For we steered south and south-east till we came to twentie-sixe fathomes. Then we steered south-west, for so the tyde doth set. By and by, it being calme, we tryed by our lead; for you shall have sixteene or seventeene fathomes, and the next cast but seven or six fathomes. And farther to the westward you shall have foure and five foot water, and see rockes under you, and you shall see the land in the top. Upon this riffe we had an observation, and found that it lyeth in 40 degrees, 10 minutes. And this is that headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602, and called Cape Cod,[1] because of the store of cod-fish that hee found thereabout. So we steered south-west, three leagues, and had twentie and twentie-foure fathomes. Then we steered west two glasses, halfe a league, and came to fifteene fathomes. Then we steered off south-east foure glasses, but could not get deepe water; for there the tyde of ebbe laid us on; and the streame did hurle so, that it laid us so neere the breach of a shoald that wee were forced to anchor. So at seven of the clocke at night wee

This dangerous riffe is in 41 degrees, 10 minutes, and lyeth off east from Cape Cod into the sea.

[1] The real locality here described is probably some riff near Cape Malabar, for Cape Cod is under 42° 4′, 130 miles farther north than the point mistaken for it by Hudson. Gosnold's explorations were but vaguely known to him, and this accounts for his mistake. Purchas, who edited Juet's journal sixteen years after it was written, had a better, though not an exact knowledge of the real situation of Cape Cod, which had frequently been visited in the meantime. Struck by Hudson's mistake, he makes, in his side note, the conjecture that the 40° 10′ of the journal was originally meant for 41° 10′. This supposition, which would shake our faith in all the latitudes recorded in that same paper, is fortunately not borne out by the preceding part of the voyage. Hudson was, on the 4th of August, under 41° 45′; he sailed south and south by east the whole night of the 5th, and part of the 6th, and it is therefore impossible that he should have been only 5′ (about six and a quarter miles) farther south on the 6th than on the 4th. Besides, 41° 10′ is still nearly a degree to the south of Cape Cod. We ought to thank Purchas for not having introduced his conjecture into the text.

were at an anchor in tenne fathomes: and I give God most heartie thankes, the least water wee had was seven fathomes and an halfe. We rode still all night, and at a still water I sounded so farre round about our ship as we could see a light; and had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, and eleven fathomes: the myst continued being very thicke.

The *seventh*, faire weather and hot, but mystie. Wee rode still hoping it would cleere, but on the floud it fell calme and thicke. So we rode still all day and all night. The floud commeth from the south-west, and riseth not above one fathome and an halfe in nepe streames. Toward night it cleered, and I went with our shallop and sounded, and found no lesse water then eight fathomes to the south-east off us; but we saw to the north-west off us great breaches.

The *eight*, faire and cleere weather. In the morning, by sixe of the clocke, at slake water, wee weighed, the wind at north-east, and set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got a mile over the flats.[1] Then the tyde of ebbe came, so we anchored againe till the floud came. Then we set sayle againe, and by the great mercie of God wee got cleere off them by one of the clocke this afternoone. And wee had sight of the land from the west north-west to the north north-west. So we steered away south south-east all night, and had ground untill the middle of the third watch. Then we had fortie-five fathomes, white sand and little stones. So all our soundings are twentie, twentie, twentie-two, twentie-seven, thirtie-two, fortie-three, fortie-three, fortie-five. Then no ground in seventie fathomes. The flats.

The *ninth*, very faire and hot weather, the wind a very stiffe gale. In the morning, at foure of the clocke, our shallop came running up against our sterne, and split in all her stemme; so we were faine to cut her away. Then wee

[1] There are so many sandbanks in these parts, that it is impossible to guess, from Hudson's rather vague observations, what sandbank he means.

tooke in our mayne-sayle, and lay atrie under our fore-sayle untill twelve of the clocke at mid-day. Then the wind eased to a faire gale, so wee stood away south-west. Then we lay close by, on many courses a south by west way fifteene leagues; and three watches south-east by east, ten leagues. At eight of the clocke at night wee tooke in our top-sayles, and went with a low sayle, because we were in an unknowne sea. At noone we observed, and found our heigth to be 38 degrees, 39 minutes.

The *tenth*, in the morning, some raine and cloudie weather: the winde at south-west, wee made our way south-east by east, ten leagues. At noone wee observed, and found our heigth to bee 38 degrees, 39 minutes. Then wee tackt about to the westward, the wind being at south and by east, little wind. At foure of the clocke it fell calme, and we had two dolphines about our ship, and many small fishes. At eight of the clocke at night wee had a small lingring gale. All night we had a great sea out of the south-west, and another great sea out of the north-east.

The *eleventh*, all the fore part of the day faire weather, and very hot. We stood to the west south-west till noone. Then the wind shorted, and we could lye but south-west and by south. At noone wee found our heigth to bee 39 degrees, 11 minutes, and that the current had laid us to the northward thirtie-two minutes contrary to our expectation. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone there came a myst, which endured two houres, but wee had it faire and cleere all night after. The compasse varied the north point to the west one whole point.

A current setting to the north.

Variation one point.

The *twelfth*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the south-west and by south and the north: little wind. In the morning we killed an extraordinary fish, and stood to the westward all day and all night. At noone we found our heigth to be 38 degrees, 13 minutes. And the observation the day before was not good. This noone, we found the compasse to vary from the north to the west ten degrees.

Variation 10 degrees.

The *thirteenth*, faire weather and hot, the wind at north-east. Wee steered away west, and by our compasse two and twentie leagues. At noone wee found our height to bee 37 degrees, 45 minutes, and that our way from noone to noone was west south-west, halfe a point southerly. The compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe variation from the north point to the west.

The *fourteenth*, faire weather, but cloudie and a stiffe gale of wind, variable betweene north-east and south-west; wee steered away west by south, a point south, all day untill nine of the clocke at night; then it began to thunder and lighten, whereupon we tooke in all our sayles and layd it a hull, and hulled away north till mid-night, a league and a halfe.

The *fifteenth*, very faire and hot weather, the winde at north by east. At foure of the clocke in the morning we set sayle, and stood on our course to the westward. At noone wee found our height to bee 37 degrees, 25 minutes. 37 degrees, 25 minutes. The after-noone proved little wind. At eight of the clocke at night the winde came to the north, and wee steered west by north and west north-west, and made our way west. The compasse varyed 7 degrees from the north to the west.

The *sixteenth*, faire shining weather and very hot, the wind variable betweene the north and the west; wee steered away west by north. At noone wee found our height to bee 37 degrees, 6 minutes. This morning we sounded and had 37 degrees, 6 minutes. ground in ninetie fathomes, and in sixe glasses running it shoalded to fiftie fathoms, and so to eight and twentie fathoms, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee came to an anchor, and rode till eight of the clocke at night, the wind being at south and moone-light; we resolved to goe to the northward to finde deeper water. So we weighed and stood to the northward, and found the water to shoald and deepe from eight and twentie to twentie fathomes.

The *seventeenth*, faire and cleere sun-shining weather, the

winde at south by west; wee steered to the northward till foure of the clocke in the morning; then wee came to eighteene fathomes. So we anchored untill the sunne arose, to looke abroad for land, for wee judged there could not but be land neere us, but we could see none. Then we weighed, and stood to the westward till noone. And at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of a low land, with a white sandie shoare. By twelve of the clocke we were come into five fathomes, and anchored; and the land was foure leagues from us, and wee had sight of it from the west to the north-west by north. Our height was 37 degrees, 26 minutes. Then the wind blew so stiffe a gale, and such a sea went, that we could not weigh; so we rode there all night an hard rode (*sic*).

A low land with a white sandie shoare.

37 degrees, 26 minutes.

The *eighteenth*, in the morning, faire weather, and little winde at north north-east and north-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning we weighed, and stood into the shoare to see the deeping or shoalding of it, and finding it too deepe we stood in to get a rode: for wee saw, as it were, three ilands. So wee turned to windward to get into a bay, as it shewed to us to the westward of an iland. For the three ilands did beare north off us. But toward noone the wind blew northerly, with gusts of wind and rayne. So we stood off into the sea againe all night; and running off we found a channell, wherein we had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve fathomes water. For in comming over the barre wee had five and foure fathomes and a halfe, and it lyeth five leagues from the shoare, and it is the barre of Virginia. At the north end of it, it is ten leagues broad, and south and north, but deepe water from nintie fathomes to five and foure and a halfe. The land lyeth south and north. This is the entrance into the King's River in Virginia, where our English-men are.[1] The north side of it

Barre of Virginia.

Kings River.

[1] The early settlement alluded to, the romantic history of which every schoolboy knows, was more than thirty miles farther south than the

lyeth in 37 degrees, 26 minutes: you shall know when you come to shoald water or sounding, for the water will looke greene or thicke, you shall have ninetie and eightie fathomes, and shoalding a pace till you come to ten, eleven, nine, eight, seven, ten, and nine fathomes, and so to five, and foure fathomes and a halfe.

The *nineteenth*, faire weather, but an hard gale of winde at the north-east; wee stood off till noone, and made our way south-east by east, two and twentie leagues. At noone wee cast about to the westward, and stood till sixe of the clocke in the after-noone, and went five leagues and a halfe north-west by north. Then wee cast about againe to the eastward, and stood that way till foure the next morning. Note.

The *twentieth*, faire and cleere weather, the winde variable betweene east north-east and north-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning wee cast about to the westward, and stood till noone; at which time I sounded, and had two and thirtie fathomes. Then we tackt to the eastward againe; wee found our height to bee 37 degrees, 22 minutes. We stood to the eastward all night, and had very much wind. At eight of the clocke at night we tooke off our bonnets, and stood with small sayle. 37 degrees, 22 minutes.

The *one and twentieth*, was a sore storme of winde and rayne all day and all night, wherefore wee stood to the eastward with a small sayle, till one of the clocke in the afternoone. Then a great sea brake into our fore-corse and split it; so we were forced to take it from the yard and mend it:

locality here alluded to by Hudson. Our navigator was but imperfectly acquainted with its whereabouts, and this explains his failing to visit his friend John Smith, though the opportunity was so tempting. If the latitudes in the journal are correct, the description here given applies to the coast of Northampton (Virginia) under 37° 26′. The *three islands* are a group to the north-east of Prout Island, and between them and Prout Island there is a sort of strait, which may be mistaken for the entrance of a river. The journal shows plainly that Hudson never attempted to explore the supposed river, and thus had no opportunity for finding out his mistake.

wee lay a trie with our mayne-corse all night. This night our cat ranne crying from one side of the ship to the other, looking over-boord, which made us to wonder; but we saw nothing.

The *two and twentieth*, stormy weather, with gusts of rayne and wind. In the morning, at eight of the clocke, we set our fore-corse, and stood to the eastward under our fore-sayle, mayne-sayle and misen; and from noone to noone, we made our way east south-east, fourteene leagues. The night reasonable drie but cloudie, the winde variable all day and night. Our compasse was varyed 4 degrees westward.

The *three and twentieth*, very faire weather, but some thunder in the morning, the winde variable betweene east by north. At noone wee tackt about to the northward, the winde at east by north. The after-noone very faire, the wind variable, and continued so all night. Our way we made east south-east, till noone the next day.

The *foure and twentieth*, faire and hot weather, with the wind variable betweene the north and the east. The after-noone variable winde. But at foure of the clocke, the wind came to the east and south-east; so wee steered away north by west, and in three watches wee went thirteene leagues. At noone our height was 35 degrees, 41[1] minutes, being farre off at sea from the land.

The *five and twentieth*, faire weather and very hot. All the morning was very calme untill eleven of the clocke; the wind came to south-east and south south-east; so wee steered away north-west by north two watches and a halfe, and one watch north-west by west, and went eighteene leagues. At noone I found our height to bee 36 degrees, 20 minutes, being without sight of land.

The *sixe and twentieth*, faire and hot weather, the winde variable upon all the points of the compasse. From two of the clocke in the morning untill noone wee made our way

[1] Off Nag's Head, South Carolina.

north by east, seven leagues. In the after-noone the wind came to the north-east, and vering to the east south-east; wee steered away north-west fifteene leagues, from noone till ten of the clocke at night. At eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had eighteene fathomes, and were come to the banke of Virginia, and could not see the land. Wee kept sounding and steered away north, and came to eight fathomes and anchored there; for the wind was at east south-east, so that wee could not get off. For the coast lyeth along south south-west and north north-east. At noone our height was 37 degrees, 15 minutes. And wee found that we were returned to the same place from whence we were put off at our first seeing land.[1]

The banke of Virginia.

The coast lyeth south south-west, and north north-east.

Latitude 37 degrees, 15 minutes.

The *seven and twentieth,* faire weather and very hot, the winde at east south-east. In the morning, as soone as the sunne was up, wee looked out and had sight of the land. Then wee weighed, and stood in north-west two glasses, and found the land to bee the place from whence wee put off first. So wee kept our loofe and steered along the land, and had the banke lye all along the shoare; and wee had in two leagues off the shoare, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathomes. The coast lyeth south south-west, and is a white sandie shoare, and sheweth full of bayes and points. The streame setteth west south-west and east north-east. At sixe of the clocke at night wee were thwart of an harbour or river, but we saw a barre lye before it; and all within the land to the northward, the water ranne with many ilands in it. At sixe of the clocke we anchored, and sent our boate to sound to the shore-ward, and found no lesse then foure and a halfe, five, sixe, and seven fathomes.

This agreeth with Robert Tyndall.

The *eight and twentieth,* faire and hot weather, the winde

[1] Hudson, on his return from the south, sailed along the mainland of Virginia, and thus entered Chesapeake Bay. It is not quite clear how far he explored it. The latitude 37° 15′ seems to be a mistake. He probably means 37° 10′: that is to say, Charles' Cape, which he called Dry Cape, according to De Laet.

at south south-west. In the morning, at sixe of the clocke, wee weighed, and steered away north twelve leagues till noone,

The point of land.

and came to the point of land ;[1] and being hard by the land in five fathomes, on a sudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and joined to the point. Then as soone as wee were over, wee had five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the land to trend away north-west, with a

A great bay and rivers.

great bay and rivers. But the bay wee found shoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of breaches and drie sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so we stood backe south-east by south, three leagues. And at seven of the clocke wee anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a tide set to the north-west, and north north-west, and it riseth one fathome and floweth south south-east. And he that will thoroughly discover this great bay, must have

A small shallop needfull.

a small pinasse, that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him. At five in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the eastward on many courses,

The norther land is full of shoalds.

for the norther land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee strooke; and wee went away, and steered away to the south-east. So wee had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seven fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

The *nine and twentieth*, faire weather, with some thunder and showers, the winde shifting betweene the south south-west and the north north-west. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the norther land,

Many ilands.

which we found to bee all ilands to our sight, and great

[1] Juet's account of the explorations made on the 26th, 27th, and 28th, is very far from clear. But by making De Laet (see p. 156) bear upon it, we see that the *Half Moon* explored during those days the neighbourhood and the mouth of Delaware River. The bay described on the present page is Delaware Bay. Later historians, chiefly Van der Donck, have asserted that Hudson took possession of the surrounding country. This seems, however, a pure invention.

stormes from them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them had but seven, sixe, five, foure, three, and two fathoms and a halfe, and strooke ground with our rudder; we steered off south-west one glasse, and had five fathoms. Then wee steered south-east three glasses; then we found seven fathomes, and steered north-east by east foure leagues, and came to twelve and thirteene fathoms. At one of the clocke I went to the top-mast head and set the land, and the bodie of the ilands did beare north-west by north. And at foure of the clocke, wee had gone foure leagues east south-east, and north-east by east, and found but seven fathoms; and it was calme, so we anchored. Then I went againe to the top-mast head, to see how farre I could see land about us, and could see no more but the ilands. And the souther point of them did beare north-west by west eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the north north-west, so wee waighed and set sayle. They strike.

The *thirtieth*, in the morning, betweene twelve and one, we weighed, and stood to the eastward, the winde at north north-west; wee steered away and made our way east south-east. From our weighing till noone, eleven leagues. Our soundings were eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteene fathomes till day. Then we came to eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and sixe and twentie fathoms by noone. Then I observed the sunne, and found the height to bee 39 degrees, 5 minutes,[1] and saw no land. In the after-noone, the winde came to north by west; so wee lay close by with our fore-sayle and our mayne-sayle, and it was little winde untill twelve of the clocke at mid-night; then wee had a gale a little while. Then I sounded, and all the night our soundings were thirtie and sixe and thirtie fathomes, and wee went little. Latitude 39 degrees, 5 minutes.

The *one and thirtieth*, faire weather and little wind. At

[1] Off Hereford Inlet.

sixe of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the northward, the wind being at the north-east, little wind. At noone it fell calme, and I found the height to bee 38 degrees, 39 minutes. And the streames had deceived us,[1] and our sounding was eight and thirtie fathoms. In the afternoone I sounded againe, and had but thirtie fathoms. So we found that we were heaved too and fro with the streames of the tide, both by our observations and our depths. From noone till foure of the clocke in the afternoone it was calme. At sixe of the clocke we had a little gale southerly, and it continued all night, sometimes calme and sometimes a gale; wee went eight leagues from noone to noone, north by east.

Latitude 38 degrees, 39 minutes. Deceitfull streames.

September. The *first of September*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene east and south; we steered away north north-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39 degrees, 3 minutes.[2] Wee had soundings thirtie, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, and twentie-two fathomes, as wee went to the northward. At sixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch, till twelve of the clocke at mid-night, we had soundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went sixe leagues neere hand north north-west.

Latitude 39 degrees, 3 minutes.

The *second*, in the morning, close weather, the winde at south in the morning; from twelve untill two of the clocke we steered north north-west, and had sounding one and twentie fathoms; and in running one glasse we had but sixteene fathoms, then seventeene, and so shoalder and shoalder untill it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great fire, but could not see the land; then we came to ten fathoms, where-

[1] Twenty-six minutes farther south than according to his last observation. Unacquainted with the nature of the polar current along these coasts, Hudson had been unconsciously drifted back. "The streams had deceived him," as Juet says.

[2] Still two minutes farther south than they had been on the 31st of August. The polar currents made them lose two entire days.

upon we brought our tackes aboord, and stood to the eastward east south-east, foure glasses. Then the sunne arose, and wee steered away north againe, and saw the land from the west by north to the north-west by north, all like broken islands,[1] and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then wee looft in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north. From the land which we had first sight of, untill we came to a great lake of water, as wee could judge it to bee, being drowned land, which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that land hath many shoalds, and the sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay the land lyeth north by east, and wee had a great streame out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms two leagues from the land. At five of the clocke we anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was faire. This night I found the land to hall the compasse 8 degrees. For to the northward off us we saw high hils.[2] For the day before we found not above 2 degrees of variation. This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see.

The land like broken ilands.

The course along the land from the mouth of one river to the mouth of the norther bay or lake.

Variation 8 degrees neere the hills.

2 degrees variation off at sea.

[1] Sandy Hook, the well known island at the mouth of the Hudson. The following extracts from modern works on American geography will show how minutely this locality was explored by its discoverer, and how well it is described in the *Journal:* "Sandy Hook Bay is a sandy beach, extending north from Old Shrewsbury Inlet (New Jersey) and the south point of the highlands of Nevesinck, six miles, and is from half a mile to a mile wide."—Thomson's *Geogr. Dict.* "Sandy Hook Bay runs south into the town of Middleton, and is bounded to the south-west by the highlands of Nevesinck, and on the east by the sand beach forming Sandy Hook. Drained by Swimming and Nevisinck rivers."—*U. S. Gazetteer.* "In approaching Sandy Hook, Harbour Hill, on Long Island, and Nevisinck, on the Jersey shore, may be seen at the distance of about twenty-four to twenty-five miles. The first is 319, the second 281 feet above the water."—Mitchill, *Geology;* and Akerley, *Geology of Hudson River:* quoted by Moulton, *Hist. of the State of New York,* i, p. 209.

[2] See last note.

The *third*, the morning mystie, untill ten of the clocke; then it cleered, and the wind came to the south south-east, so wee weighed and stood to the northward. The land[1] is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clock in the after-noone, wee came to three great rivers.[2] So we stood along to the northermost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the souther side of them; then we had five and sixe fathoms, and anchored. So wee sent in our boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, five, sixe, and seven fathoms, and returned in an houre and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, oze ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rayes, very great. The height is 40 degrees, 30 minutes.

High and a bold shoare.

Three great rivers.

The northermost barred.

An excellent river.

Latitude 40 degrees, 30 minutes.

The *fourth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our boate to sound, and found that it was a very good harbour, and foure and five fathomes, two cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our boate went on land[3] with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets, of a foote and a halfe long a peece, and a ray as

A very good harbour.

[1] The south coast of Staten Island.

[2] It is impossible to make the observations of the 3rd fully agree with the real localities. Wheresoever we place the *three rivers*, some difficulties arise which cannot be explained away. Mr. Brodhead's opinion, "that two of the three rivers are *undoubtedly* the Rariton and Narrows, the third *probably* Rockaway Inlet," we can subscribe in neither of its parts. It is not even certain whether the place where Hudson anchored under 40° 30′, is to the east or west of Staten Island.

[3] According to a generally received American tradition, Coney Island (near Long Island). This is quite possible. Only it seems singular that the insulated nature of this small spot should have been either overlooked, or if perceived, not noted down as such, in our circumstantial account.

great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the north-west, and our anchor came home, and wee drove on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and oze. This day the people of the countrey came aboord of us, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene tobacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They goe in deere skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire cloathes, and are very civill. They have great store of maize or Indian wheate, whereof they make good bread. The countrey is full of great and tall oakes.

The people of the countrey come aboord, they are very civill.

Yellow copper.

Tall oakes.

The *fifth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our boate to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the souther shoare. Our men went on land[1] there, and saw great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tabacco at their comming on land. So they went up into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oakes and some currants. For one of them came aboord and brought some dryed, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good furres. Some women also came to us with hempe. They had red copper tabacco pipes, and other things of copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

The great bay in 40 degrees and 30 minuts.

Dryed currants.

Mantles of feathers, furs, hempe.

Red copper.

The *sixth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and our master sent John Colman, with foure other men in our boate,

[1] According to the American historians, "in Monmouth County, New Jersey," that is to say, either on the mainland or New Jersey, or somewhere near Richmond, on Staten Island. We should not even presume on this vague assertion. There is no evidence to show that the landing place was not still further east, on or near Long Island.

Another river foure leagues to the northward.

over to the north-side to sound the other river,[1] being foure leagues from us. They found by the way shoald water, two fathoms; but at the north of the river eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river[2] to the westward, betweene two ilands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grasse and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored too and fro on their oares. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

A narrow river to the westward.

Colman slaine and two more hurt.

The *seventh*, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboord the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land and buryed, and named the point after his name, Colmans Point.[3] Then we hoysed in our boate, and raised her side with waste boords for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch.

Colmans Point.

[1] The Narrows?

[2] The hills between Staten Island and Bergen Neck. Moulton, *Hist. of New York*, i, p. 211.

[3] According to the Dutch maps and charts of the seventeenth century, Colman's Point (also called Godyn's Point and Sand or Sant Point), is identical with, or forms part of, Sandy Hook. No great amount of criticism is, however, displayed in those delineations; and they cannot be considered as sufficient proofs that Colman really was buried on Sandy Hook. We have, on the contrary, every reason to believe that Hudson was, on the 7th of September, farther north than the above suppositions would lead us to assume. Hudson's *Colman's Point* and the *Colnan's Point* or *Punt* of the early maps, are therefore probably *not* identical.

The *eight*, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboord us, and brought tabacco and Indian wheat to exchange for knives and beades, and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the death of our man; which they did not.

The *ninth*, faire weather. In the morning, two great canoes came aboord full of men; the one with their bowes and arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of knives to betray us; but we perceived their intent. Wee tooke two of them to have kept them, and put red coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere us. So they went on land, and two other came aboord in a canoe; we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got up and leapt over-boord. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the river, and anchored there all night. Treacherous savages

The *tenth*, faire weather, we rode still till twelve of the clocke. Then we weighed and went over, and found it shoald all the middle of the river, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe and three fathomes for the space of a league; then wee came to three fathomes and foure fathomes, and so to seven fathomes, and anchored, and rode all night in soft ozie ground. The banke is sand.[1]

The *eleventh* was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed and went into the river, the wind at south south-west, little winde. Our soundings were seven, sixe, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to five fathomes. Then wee anchored, and saw that it was a very good harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the country came aboord of us, making shew of love, and gave us tabacco Good harbour.

[1] East Sandbank, in the Narrows. Moulton, i, p. 211.

and Indian wheat,[1] and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.[2]

The *twelfth*, very faire and hot. In the after-noone, at two of the clocke, wee weighed, the winde being variable betweene the north and the north-west. So we turned into the river two leagues and anchored. This morning, at our first rode in the river, there came eight and twentie canoes full of men, women and children to betray us: but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboord of us. At twelve of the clocke they departed. They brought with them oysters and beanes, whereof wee bought some. They have great tabacco pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth south-east by south within.

28 canoes full of men.

Oysters and beanes.

Copper pipes.

The *thirteenth*, faire weather, the wind northerly. At seven of the clocke in the morning, as the floud came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the river. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure canoes aboord: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good oysters aboord, which we bought for trifles.[3] In the night I set the variation of the compasse, and found it to be 13 degrees. In the after-noone we weighed, and turned in with the floud, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night; and had five fathoms soft ozie ground; and had an high point of land,

Variation 13 degrees.

[1] According to Van der Donck maize had been first brought to these regions by the Spaniards.

[2] So says Juet. Hudson himself, in the few scraps of his original log-book preserved by De Laet, and also in the communications which Van Meteren seems to have received from him, always speaks most kindly of the North American Indians. He and his crew entirely disagreed with regard to the treatment due to the poor natives; and his kindness was rewarded by friendship, their sullen mistrust by acts of hostility. The poor Indian has but too often been thus both ill-treated and ill-judged by prejudiced Europeans.

[3] According to the opinion of Moulton, *Hist. of N. Y.*, i, p. 238, near the point where Manhattansville now stands.

which shewed out to us, bearing north by east five leagues off us.

The *fourteenth*, in the morning, being very faire weather, the wind south-east, we sayled up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a streight betweene two points,[1] and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms; and it trended north-east by north, one league: and wee had twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. The river is a mile broad: there is very high land on both sides.[2] Then we went up north-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then north-east by north, five miles; then north-west by north, two leagues, and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous. The river is full of fish.

The river a mile broad.

Very high and mountainous land.

The *fifteenth*, in the morning, was misty, untill the sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twentie leagues, passing by high mountaines.[3] Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathomes, and great store of salmons in the river. This morning our two savages got out of a port and swam away. After wee were under sayle, they called to us in scorne. At night we came to other mountaines, which lie from the rivers side. There wee found very loving people, and very old men: where wee were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

Very loving people.

The *sixteenth*, faire and very hot weather. In the morn-

[1] Between Stony and Verplanck points, according to Moulton's computation (*Hist of N. Y.* i, p. 238).

[2] Near Peakskill. The land, as described by Juet, is high and mountainous on both sides. The hills rise in several places to more than a thousand feet, and the most elevated side is often near the water's edge. Hudson seems to have sailed on the 14th to the neighbourhood of West Point, at present the site of the celebrated military academy.

[3] Hudson now saw the highest of the mountains that border the river, the noble range of the Kaatshenge or Catskill Mountains, several peaks of which rise above 3000′, the highest (the Round Top) to near 4000′.

ing our boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboord, and brought us eares of Indian corne, and pompions, and tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day.[1]

Maiz, pompions, and tabacco.

The *seventeenth*, faire sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning, as soone as the sun was up, we set sayle, and ran up sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small ilands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaved off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaved off againe, and anchored all night.[2]

Shoalds and small ilands.

The *eighteenth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our masters mate went on land with an old savage, a governor of the countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The *nineteenth* was faire and hot weather: at the floud, being neere eleven of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher up two leagues above the shoalds, and had no lesse water then five fathoms; wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The

Grapes and pompions.

Beavers and otters skins.

[1] According to Moulton, *Hist. of N. Y.*, i, 244, near the shoal or marsh in the river, between Athens, and directly opposite that and the city that now bears the name of Hudson; according to Brodhead, between Schadak and Castleton; a place situated, according to Haskell and Smith's *Gazetteer*, in Rensselaer county, New York, 8 S. by E. Albany, 362 W., on the eastern bank of Hudson river. These American historians are, better than we, able to compare Juet's account with the real features of the country, and it is impossible for us to decide between them where they disagree.

[2] All this happened undoubtedly at the distance of a few miles from the spot where Albany now stands. The American authors disagree as to the exact locality, and the matter is both beyond our cognizance and of but small interest to us Europeans.

people of the countrie came flocking aboord, and brought us grapes and pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us bevers skinnes and otters skinnes, which wee bought for beades, knives, and hatchets. So we rode there all night.[1]

The *twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather. Our masters mate with foure men more went up with our boat to sound the river, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and above that place, seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The *one and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind all southerly: we determined yet once more to go farther up into the river, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboord, so wee went not this day. Our carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our master and his mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them.[2] So they tooke them downe into the cabbin, and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with them, which sate so modestly, as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the ende one of them was drunke, which had beene

[1] It would undoubtedly be of interest to ascertain the exact locality of this point, the highest reached by Hudson's ships. The American historians have spared no pains to arrive at a satisfactory result. But the data on which their discussions rest do not warrant any positive conclusion. The most exact statement, that of Van Meteren, gives 42° 40′ as the latitude reached; it forms, however, part of a mere summary, in which the latitudes are but approximatively exact. For us Europeans it is quite sufficient to know that the *Half Moon* reached either the very spot where Albany now stands, or its immediate neighbourhood. The latitude of Albany is, according to Haskell and Smith's *Gazetteer*, 42° 39′ 3″ N.

[2] "The prejudices," says Moulton, "which they imbibed in Europe, or on their coasting voyage, against a people whom the Europeans denominated *savages*, had given a tone of suspicion to their intercourse." See also note 2, p. 82.

aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it.[1] The canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of beades:[2] some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

The *two and twentieth* was faire weather: in the morning our masters mate and foure more of the companie went up with our boat to sound the river higher up. The people of the countrey came not aboord till noone: but when they came, and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the afternoone they came aboord, and brought tabacco, and more beades, and gave them to our
Oration. master, and made an oration, and shewed him all the countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man that lay aboord. This night, at ten of the clocke, our boat returned in a showre of raine
Ende of the rivers navigablenesse. from sounding of the river; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings.[3]

[1] A tradition connected with this scene of drunkenness seems to have subsisted at the end of the last century among the Delaware and Mohican Indians. We reprint as part of the present collection the observations of the Rev. John Herkewelder, where this fact is noted down.

[2] These beads were made of some sort of shells, and strung. The strings served both as a rude sort of jewelry and as money. They were called *wampum*. The early travellers in these regions make frequent mention of them. We refer the reader to the extracts from Van der Donck's description of New Netherland, which forms part of the present collection.

[3] We refer the American reader to the interesting observations on this passage, in Moulton, i, pp. 259 to 266. To Europeans, who are unacquainted with the localities themselves, these observations are of less interest. Mr. Brodhead thinks that Hudson's boat reached the place

The *three and twentieth*, faire weather. At twelve of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tyde layed us upon it. So there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the floud came. Then wee had a little gale of wind at the west. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well. They returne downe the river.

The *foure and twentieth* was faire weather: the winde at the north-west, wee weighed, and went downe the river seven or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of oze in the middle of the river, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on land, and gathered good store of chest-nuts.[1] At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored. Store of chestnuts.

The *five and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale. We rode still, and went on land[2] to walke on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corne and other garden herbs, with great store of goodly oakes, and walnut-trees, and chest-nut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones. Okes, walnut trees, chestnut trees, ewe trees, cedar trees, etc.

The *sixe and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale; wee rode still. In the morning our carpenter went on land, with our masters mate and foure more of our companie, to cut wood. This morning, two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboord of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of

where the town of Waterford now stands (Brodhead, *Hist. of New York*, i, p. 32).

[1] According to the computation of Moulton (i, p. 267), near the spot where the town of Hudson now stands.

[2] At or near Catskill Landing, three miles from Hudson, and about forty from Albany.

beades and gave them to our master, and shewed him all the countrey there about as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seventeene yeares with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife, and they gave him and us tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the river, making signes that wee should come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

The *seven and twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather, but much wind at the north; we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not flat, but ran on the ozie banke at half ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heave her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud: then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got downe sixe leagues. The old man came aboord, and would have had us anchor, and goe on land to eate with him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his request; so hee left us, being very sorrowfull for our departure. At five of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind came to the south south-west. So wee made a boord or two, and anchored[1] in foureteene fathomes water. Then our boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our masters mate and boatswaine, and three more of the companie, went on land to fish, but could not finde a good place. They tooke foure or five and twentie mullets, breames, bases, and barbils; and returned in an houre. We rode still all night.

The *eight and twentieth*, being faire weather, as soone as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for the streame doth runne

[1] In the vicinity of Red Hook (Moulton, 267), that is to say, fourteen miles from Catskill Landing.

the last quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water.[1] At three of the clocke in the after-noone we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, untill it was darke: then wee anchored.

The *nine and twentieth* was drie close weather; the wind at south, and south and by west; we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the lower end of the long reach; for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a canoe to us, but would not come aboord. After dinner there came the canoe with other men, whereoff three came aboord us. They brought Indian wheat, which we bought for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed, as soone as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the mountaines, or the northermost of the mountaines, and anchored: because the high land hath many points, and a narrow channell, and hath manie eddie winds.[2] So we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water. Mountaines.

The *thirtieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south-east, a stiffe gale betweene the mountaynes. We rode still the afternoone. The people of the countrey came aboord us and brought some small skinnes with them, which we bought for knives and trifles. This is a very pleasant place to build a towne on. The road is very neere, and very good for all windes, save an east north-east wind. The mountaynes look as if some metall or minerall were in them. For Small skins. A pleasant place to build a towne on. Likelihood of minerals.

[1] Probably near the Esopus Island, twelve miles from Red Hook.

[2] Below Poughkeepsie (Moulton). Beacon Hill, in the neighbourhood of that place and opposite New Windsor, is 1685 feet high. This part of Hudson river is noted for its heavy winds. "The banks of Hudson river, especially on the west side, as far as the highlands extend, are chiefly rocky cliffs. The passage through the highlands, which is sixteen or eighteen miles, affords a wild romantic scene. In this narrow pass, on each side of which the mountains tower to a great height, the wind, if there be any, is collected and compressed, and blows continually as through a bellows. Vessels, in passing through it, are often obliged to lower their sails" (Thompson, *Geogr. Dict. of America*).

the trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren, with few or no trees on them. The people brought a stone aboord like to an emery (a stone used by
October. glasiers to cut glasse),[1] it would cut iron or steele: yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like blacke lead glistering: it is also good for painters colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

The *first of October*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the mountaynes, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calme and the floud was come, and wee anchored at twelve of the clocke. The people of the mountaynes came aboord us, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for trifles. This afternoone, one canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleeres. Our masters mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cooke tooke a sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues: by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

The *second*, faire weather. At break of day wee weighed, the wind being at north-west, and got downe seven leagues; then the floud was come strong, so we anchored. Then
Treacherie of these savages. came one of the savages that swamme away from us at our going up the river with many other, thinking to betray us.

[1] Pyrilis?

But wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two canoes full of men, with their bowes and arrowes shot at us after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above an hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the woods. Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us. So I shot at it also a falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets killed three or foure more of them.[1] So they went their way; within a while after wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the river, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either copper or silver myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the trees that grow upon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse; it is on that side of the river that is called Manna-hata.[2] There we saw no people to trouble us: and rode quietly all night; but had much wind and raine.

A skirmish and slaughter of the savages.

A myne of copper or silver.

The countrey of Manna-hata.

[1] Moulton (i, 271) thinks that this scene took place at the upper end of the island of Manhattan (on which New York now stands), near Fort Washington and Fort Lee, and that the next place mentioned (see note 2) was *opposite* Manhattan island. This assertion seems doubtful, as will be explained in the next note.

[2] Moulton (i, 272) places this site near *Hoboken*, OPPOSITE New York. This opinion of the else so accurate historian is very improbable. Hudson's words, "That side of the river which is called *Manna-hatta*", cannot possibly apply to anything but Manhattan island itself. All the early chroniclers, as well as the early maps and views, agree in giving to that island the Indian name which it still bears; whilst the opposite shore, though, perhaps, also inhabited by the Manhattan tribe, is never called Manhattan. It had, on the contrary, an Indian name of its own, *Hopoghan*, now corrupted into *Hoboken*. Moulton, indeed, adduces no reason for his supposition.

The *third*, was very stormie; the wind at east north-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine, our anchor came home, and we drove on ground, but it was ozie. Then as we were about to have out an anchor, the wind came to the north north-west, and drove us off againe. Then we shot an anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather; so we roade still all night.

The *fourth*, was faire weather, and the wind at north north-west; wee weighed and came out of the river, into which we had runne so farre.[1] Within a while after, wee came out also of the great mouth of the great river, that runneth up to the north-west,[2] borrowing upon the norther side of the same, thinking to have deepe water; for wee had sounded a great way with our boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot and an halfe water: and so three, five, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelve of the clocke we were cleere of all the inlet. Then we took in our boat, and set our mayne-sayle, and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away east south-east, and south-east by east off into the mayne sea: and the land on the souther side of the bay or inlet did beare at noone west and by south foure leagues from us.

The great mouth of the great river.

They leave the coast of Virginia.

The *fifth* was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the north and the east. Wee held on our course south-east by east. At noone I observed and found our height to bee 39 degrees, 30 minutes. Our compasse varied sixe degrees to the west.

We continued our course toward England, without seeing

[1] Hudson river, from the source to New York Bay.

[2] The mouth of the Hudson trends to the north-west, where Raritan river falls into it.

any land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of *October:* and on the *seventh day of November, stilo novo,* being Saturday, by the grace of God we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire, in the yeere 1609.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE JOURNALL OF MASTER HENRY HUDSON,

FOR THE DISCOVERIE OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, BEGUNNE THE SEVENTEENTH OF APRILL, 1610, ENDED WITH HIS END, BEING TREACHEROUSLY EXPOSED BY SOME OF THE COMPANIE.

THE *seventeenth of Aprill,* 1610, we brake ground, and went downe from Saint Katharines Poole,[1] and fell downe to Blackewall; and so plyed downe with the ships to Lee, which was the two and twentieth day. April 17.

The *two and twentieth,* I caused Master Coleburne[2] to bee put into a pinke bound for London, with my letter to the Adventurars, importing the reason wherefore I so put him out of the ship, and so plyed forth.

The *second of May,* the wind southerly, at eeven we were thwart of Flamborough Head. May.

The *fift,* we were at the iles of Orkney, and here I set the north end of the needle, and the north of the flie all one. The iles of Orkney.

The *sixt,* wee were in the latitude of 59 degrees, 22 Note.

[1] Where St. Katherine's Dock now is; near the Tower.

[2] According to Pricket the man's name was Colbert; according to Fox (N. W. Fox, p. 70) it was Coolbrand. The occurrence took place near Sheppey island, in the road of Lee. Fox's curious notice about this Master Coolbrand is given in the present collection.

minutes, and there perceived that the north end of Scotland, Orney, and Shotland[1] are not so northerly as is commonly set downe.[2] The *eight* day wee saw Farre Ilands,[3] in the latitude of 62 degrees, 24 minutes. The *eleventh* day we fell with the easter part of Island, and then plying along the souther part of the land we came to Westmony,[4] being the *fifteenth* day, and still plyed about the mayne iland untill the *last of May*, with contrary winds, and we got some fowles of divers sorts.

Farre Ilands, 62 degrees, 24 minutes.

Westmony.

June. The *first day of June* we put to sea out of an harbour, in the westermost part Island, and so plyed to the westward in the latitude of 66 degrees, 34 minutes, and the *second* day plyed and found ourselves in 65 degrees, 57 minutes, with little wind easterly.

The *third* day wee found ourselves in 65 degrees, 30 minutes, with winde at north-east; a little before this we sayled neere some ice.

Groneland. The *fourth* day we saw Groneland[5] over the ice perfectly, and this night the sunne went downe due north, and rose north-north east. So plying the *fift* day we were in 65 degrees, still encombred with much ice, which hung upon the coast of Groneland.

Frobishors Streights. The *ninth* day wee were off Frobishers Streights,[6] with the winde northerly, and plyed unto the south-westwards untill the *fifteenth* day.

The *fifteenth* day we were in sight of the land, in latitude

[1] Orkney and Shetland.

[2] They are often laid down on old charts nearly a degree too high.

[3] The Faroer islands.

[4] The Westman or Westmanna islands, south of, and close to, Iceland. They belong to the province of Iceland.

[5] That is to say, the northern part of Greenland. The southern part was called Desolation. Frobisher's strait, which Hudson's contemporaries believed to be in Greenland, was thought to separate *Gronland* from *Desolation*. The origin of these notions is most curious. The reader will find them explained in the Introduction to the present volume.

[6] See last note.

59 degrees, 27 minutes,[1] which was called by Captayne John Davis Desolation, and found the errour of the former laying downe of that land: and then running to the north-westward untill the *twentieth* day, wee found the ship in 60 degrees, 42 minutes, and saw much ice, and many riplings or overfals, and a strong streame setting from east south-east to west north-west. Desolation. A current west north-west.

The *one and twentie, two and twentie,* and *three and twentie* dayes, with the winde variable, we plyed to the north-westward in sight of much ice, into the height of 62 degrees, 29 minutes.[2]

The *foure and twentie* and *five and twentie* dayes, sayling to the westward about midnight, wee saw land north, which was suddenly lost againe. So wee ranne still to the westward in 62 degrees, 17 minutes.[3] East entrance into the streights.

The *fift of July* wee plyed up upon the souther side, troubled with much ice in seeking the shoare untill the *fift day of July,* and we observed that day in 59 degrees, 16 minutes.[4] Then we plyed off the shoare againe, untill the *eight* day, and then found the height of the pole in 60 degrees, no minutes. Here we saw the land from the north-west by west, halfe northerly, unto the south-west by west, covered with snow, a champaigne land, and called it Desire Provoketh. July. Desire Provoketh.

We still plyed up to the westward, as the land and ice would suffer untill the *eleventh* day; when fearing a storme, we anchored by three rockie ilands in uncertayne depth,

[1] This latitude, 59° 27′, can, unfortunately, not be maintained. The most southern part, even of the islands about Cape Farewell, does not reach down farther than 59° 35′. The cape itself is, according to the best authorities, under 59° 45′. Hudson's mistake therefore extends to eight or nine minutes at least, and may be greater.

[2] Near Cape Elizabeth, coast of Labrador.

[3] In Hall's sound, south of Resolution island.

[4] Near Ittimenaktok island, eastern shore of Ungava bay, and south-east of Akpatok island.

betweene two and nine fathomes; and found it an harbour unsufficient by reason of sunken rockes, one of which was next morning two fathomes above water. Wee called them the Isles of Gods Mercies.[1] The water floweth here better then foure fathomes. The floud commeth from the north, flowing eight the change day. The latitude in this place is 62 degrees, 9 minutes. Then plying to the south-westward the *sixteenth* day, wee were in the latitude of 58 degrees, 50 minutes,[2] but found our selves imbayed with land, and had much ice: and we plyed to the north-westward untill the *nineteenth* day, and then wee found by observation the height of the pole in 61 degrees, 24 minutes, and saw the land, which I named Hold with Hope.[3] Hence I plyed to the north-westward still, untill the *one and twentieth* day, with the wind variable. Here I found the sea more browne then any wee had since wee left England.

Iles of Gods Mercies.

Hold with Hope.

A mightie browne sea.

The *three and twentieth* day, by observation the height of the pole was 61 degrees, 33 minutes. The *five and twentieth* day we saw the land, and named it Magna Britannia.[4] The *sixe and twentieth* day wee observed and found the latitude in 62 degrees, 44 minutes. The *eight and twentieth* day we were in the height of 63 degrees, 10 minutes,[5] and plyed southerly of the west. The *one and thirtieth* day, plying to the westward, at noone wee found ourselves in 62 degrees, 24 minutes.

Magna Britannia.

The *first of August* we had sight of the northerne shoare, from the north by east to the west by south off us: the north part twelve leagues, and the wester part twentie leagues from us: and we had no ground there at one hundred and eightie fathomes. And I thinke I saw land on the sunne side, but

[1] Saddle Back, and the surrounding islands, to the south of Jackman's sound, (62° 10′ N.; 70° 25′ W.)

[2] Between Akpatok (59° 15′) and Tessinjak (58° 50′), on the west shore of Ungava bay.

[3] Long island (Hudson's bay); 61° 25′ N.; 70° 20′ W.

[4] About 61° 25′ N.; 70° 20′ W. [5] To the N.E. of Charles island.

could not make it perfectly, bearing east north-east. Here I found the latitude 62 degrees, 50 minutes.[1]

The *second* day we had sight of a faire headland on the norther shoare, six leagues off, which I called Salisburies Fore-land:[2] wee ranne from them west south-west, fourteene leagues: in the midway of which wee were suddenly come into a great and whurling sea, whether caused by meeting of two streames or an over-fall, I know not. Thence sayling west and by south seven leagues farther, we were in the mouth of a streight and sounded, and no ground at one hundred fathomes: the streight being there not above two leagues broad, in the passage in this wester part: which, from the easter part of Fretum Davis, is distant two hundred and fiftie leagues thereabouts.[3]

Salisburies Fore-land.

A great and whurling sea.

A streight which led us into the deepe bay of Gods Great Mercies.

The *third* day we put through the narrow passage, after our men had beene on land, which had well observed there, that the floud did come from the north, flowing by the shoare five fathomes. The head of this entrance on the south side I named Cape Worsenholme;[4] and the head on the norther shoare I called Cape Digs.[5] After wee had sailed with an easterly winde, west and by south ten leagues, the land fell away to the southward, and the other iles, and land left us to the westward. Then I observed and found the ship at noone in 61 degrees, 20 minutes, and a sea to the westward.

Cape Worsenholme.

Cape Digs.

[1] The land they saw was Charles island, the most northern point of which is about 62° 47′. (Latitude 77° 20′ W.)

[2] Salisbury island, 63° 40′ N.; 77° W.

[3] This calculation is not far wrong. The real distance, as the crow flies, is about one thousand English miles.

[4] Cape Wolstenholme of our present maps. The spelling of the name was not settled. That which now prevails is taken from Purchas, who follows it generally, though not always.

[5] Not the cape which bears this name at the present day, but a cape on a small island, one of the Diggs' islands group, opposite Cape Wolstenholme, and only two leagues (about six sea miles or knots) from it. The present Cape Diggs owes its name, most probably, to a mistake. On the original chart of Hudson's Bay, the names are not very carefully put down near the places to which they belong; thus early geographers were misled, and their successors have faithfully copied them.

A LARGER DISCOURSE OF THE SAME VOYAGE, AND THE SUCCESSE THEREOF, WRITTEN BY ABACUK PRICKETT.

We began our voyage for the north-west passage, the *seventeenth of Aprill,* 1610. Thwart of Shepey,[1] our master sent Master Colbert back to the owners with his letter. The next day we weighed from hence and stood for Harwich, and came thither the *eight and twentieth of Aprill.* From Harwich we set sayle the *first of May,* along the coast to the north, till we came to the isles of Orkney, from thence to the iles of Faro, and from thence to Island: on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the rut of the sea ashoare, but saw not the land whereupon our master came to an anchor. Heere we were embayed in the south-east part of the land. Wee weighed and stood along the coast, on the west side towards the north: but one day being calme we fell a fishing, and caught good store of fish, as cod, and ling, and butte, with some other sorts that we knew not. The next day we had a good gale of wind at south-west, and raysed the iles of Westmonie, where the king of Denmarke hath a fortresse, by which we passed to rayse the Snow Hill foot,[2] a mountayne so called on the north-west part of the land. But in our course we saw that famous hill, Mount Hecla, which cast out much fire, a signe of foule weather to come in short time. Wee leave Island a sterne of us, and met a mayne of ice, which did hang on the north part of Island, and stretched downe to the west, which when our master saw, he stood back for Island to find an harbour, which we

Orkney, Farre Iles, Island.

The south-east part of Island.

Westmonie Iland.

Mount Hecla casteth out fire.

A mayne of ice.

[1] Sheppey island, in the mouth of the Thames.

[2] Sneefials-Jükull, a mountain on the west coast of Iceland, in Westland, district of Sneefieldness, 4,500′ high.

did on the north-west part, called Derefer,*[1] where wee killed good store of fowle. From hence we put to sea againe, but neither wind nor weather serving, our master stood backe for this harbour againe, but could not reach it, but fell with another to the south of that, called by our Englishmen Lousie Bay:[2] where on the shoare we found an hot bath, and here all our Englishmen bathed themselves: the water was so hot that it would scald a fowle.

* Or Dirafford.

Lousie Bay.

An hot bath.

From hence, the *first of June*, we put to sea for Groneland, but to the west wee saw land as we thought, for which we beare the best part of a day, but it proved but a foggie banke. So wee gave it over and made for Gronland, which we raysed the *fourth of June*. Upon the coast thereof hung good store of ice, so that our master could not attayne to the shoare by any meanes. The land in this part is very mountaynous, and full of round hils, like to sugar-loaves, covered with snow. We turned the land on the south side, as neere as the ice would suffer us. Our course for the most part was betweene the west and north-west, till we raysed the Desolations, which is a great iland in the west part of Groneland. On this coast we saw store of whales, and at one time three of them came close by us, so as wee could hardly shunne them: then two passing very neere, and the third going under our ship, wee received no harme by them, praysed be God.

The first of June.

Iland of Desolation.

Store of whales.

From the Desolations our master made his way north-west, the wind being against him, who else would have gone more to the north: but in this course we saw the first great iland or mountayne of ice, whereof after we saw store. About the latter end of *June*, we raysed land to the north of

[1] Dyre-fiord, a gulf on the north-west coast of the northern peninsula of Iceland, 66° 42′ N.; 24° 20′ W.

[2] Breyde Fiord (mostly called Brede Bay on English maps), a large bay on the west coast of Iceland, where some hot springs rise from the bottom of the sea. (65° 20′ N.; 23° W.)

us, which our master tooke to bee that iland which Master Davis setteth downe in his chart.[1] On the west side of his streight, our master would have gone to the north of it, but the wind would not suffer him: so we fell to the south of it, into a great rippling or overfall of current, the which setteth to the west. Into the current we went, and made our way to the north of the west, till we met with ice which hung on this iland. Wherefore our master casting about, cleered himselfe of this ice, and stood to the south, and then to the west, through store of floting ice, and upon the ice store of seales. We gained a cleere sea, and continued our course till wee meete ice; first, with great ilands, and then with store of the smaller sort. Betweene them we made our course north-west, till we met with ice againe. But, in this our going betweene the ice, we saw one of the great ilands of ice overturne, which was a good warning to us, not to come nigh them nor within their reach.[2] Into the ice wee put ahead, as betweene two lands. The next day wee had a storme, and the wind brought the ice so fast upon us, that in the end we were driven to put her into the chiefest of the ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell sicke, I will not say it was for feare, although I saw small signe of other griefe.

Iland of ice overturneth.

The storme ceasing, we stood out of the ice, where wee saw any cleere sea to go to: which was sometime more and sometime lesse. Our course was as the ice did lye, sometime to the north, then to the north-west, and then to the west and to the south-west: but still inclosed with ice.

Danger by ice.

[1] Resolution island. Two delineations taken from Davis's survey are still in existence. The one is on an engraved planisphere, inserted into a copy of Hakluyt, in the British Museum; the other on the celebrated globe by Molyneux, quoted in Davis's summary account of his voyages, and still preserved in the library of the Middle Temple.

[2] According to Barrow, this overturning is caused by the melting and consequent splitting of the icebergs.

Which when our master saw, he made his course to the south, thinking to cleere himselfe of the ice that way: but the more he strove the worse he was, and the more inclosed, till wee could goe no further. Here our master was in despaire, and (as he told me after) he thought he should never have got out of this ice, but there have perished. Therefore hee brought forth his card,[1] and shewed all the company, that hee was entered above an hundred leagues further then ever any English was: and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further; yea, or nay. Whereupon some were of one minde and some of another, some wishing themselves at home and some not caring where, so they were out of the ice: but there were some who then spake words, which were remembred a great while after.

Hudson entered 100 leagues further then any had been.

There was one who told the master, that if he had an hundred pounds, hee would give foure-score and ten to be at home: but the carpenter made answere, that if hee had an hundred, hee would not give ten upon such condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as ever he had any,

Discontents.

[1] There is an evident blunder in Pricket's rather vague recollections. The *card* here mentioned must have been based on Weymouth's explorations, which Hudson was made acquainted with by Peter Plancius, learning, as is expressly stated, *that Weymouth entered* 100 *leagues into the strait.* If Hudson had really said that he had proceeded 100 *leagues farther than any Englishman*, he would be guilty either of an idle boast, or of a most enormous mistake. *Desire Provokes* (Akpatok), which he reached immediately after the mutiny, is no more than 60 leagues even from the north-eastern extremity of the strait (where he entered it). Several of his statements, beside the chart, prove that he had a very fair idea of the distances he had sailed. It is therefore impossible to suppose that he believed himself to be 200 leagues from the mouth of the strait, when he was really not more than 60. The following explanation may, perhaps, solve the difficulty. Hudson had, undoubtedly, *not* sailed 200 leagues *into* the strait, when the mutiny took place. He had, however, most probably sailed 200 leagues *within* it, exploring, as he did, both the northern and southern shore, which are in some places more than 4 degrees (80 leagues) distant from each other. The scene of the mutiny is in Ungava Bay, between the south-eastern shore and Akpatok island.

and to bring it as well home, by the leave of God. After many words to no purpose, to worke we must on all hands, to get ourselves out and to cleere our ship. After much labour and time spent, we gained roome to turne our ship in, and so by little and little, to get cleere in the sea a league or two off, our course being north and north-west.

Desire Provokes.

In the end we raysed land to the south-west, high land and covered with snow. Our master named this land, Desire Provokes.[1] Lying here, wee heard the noyse of a great overfall of a tyde, that came out of the land: for now we might see well that wee had beene embayed before, and time had made us know, being so well acquainted with the ice, that when night, or foggie or foule weather tooke us, we would seek out the broadest iland of ice and there come to anchor,

Exercises of pleasure and profit on the ice.

and runne, and sport, and fill water that stood on the ice in ponds, both sweete and good. But after we had brought this land to beare south of us, we had the tyde and the current to open the ice, as being carried first one way and then another: but in bayes they lye as in a pond without moving. In this bay[2] where wee were thus troubled with ice, wee saw many of those mountaynes of ice aground, in sixe or sevenscore fathome water. In this our course we saw a beare upon a piece of ice by itselfe, to the which our men gave chase with their boat: but before they came nigh her, the tyde had carried the ice and the beare on it, and joined it with the other ice: so they lost their labour, and came aboord againe.

Difference of tydes and bayes.

Ice about 100 fathome.

[1] Akpatok island. There is again some confusion in the course as given by Pricket. It lies too much west and not enough south. The positive statement by Hudson, that he was in 59° 16′ a few days before he reached Desire Provokes, in 60°, proves beyond all doubt that the scene of these explorations was Ungava Bay, and that Desire Provokes is Akpatok. This is also supported by Pricket's own statement (see note 2) that they had been *embayed* before they reached Desire Provokes.

[2] The bay in which they had been embayed before they reached Desire Provokes (see nine lines higher up), that is to say, Ungava Bay.

We continued our course to the north-west, and raysed land to the north of our course, toward which we made, and comming nigh it, there hung on the eastermost point many ilands of floting ice, and a beare on one of them, which from one to another came towards us, till she was readie to come aboord. But when she saw us looke at her, she cast her head betweene her hinde legges, and then dived under the ice: and so from one piece to another, till she was out of our reach. We stood along by the land on the south side ahead of us; wee met with ice that hung on a point of land that lay to the south, more then this that we came up by: which when our master saw, he stood in for the shoare. At the west end of this iland (for so it is) we found an harbour, and came in (at a full sea) over a rocke, which had two fathome and an halfe on it, and was so much bare at a low water. But by the great mercie of God, we came to an anchor cleere of it: and close by it our master named them the Iles of Gods Mercie. This is an harbour for need, but there must be care had how they came in. Heere our master sent me, and others with me, to discover to the north and north-west: and in going from one place to another, we sprung a covey of partridges which were young: at the which Thomas Woodhouse shot, but killed only the old one.

A dangerous rocke.

Iles of Gods Mercie.

Partridges.

This iland is a most barren place, having nothing on it but plashes of water and riven rockes, as it were subject to earthquakes. To the north there is a great bay or sea[1] (for I know not what it will prove), where I saw a great iland of ice aground, betweene the two lands which with the springtide was set afloat, and carried into this bay or sea to the north-westward, but came not backe againe, nor within sight. Heere wee tooke in some drift wood that we found ashoare.

Drift wood.

From hence we stood to the south-west, to double the land

[1] Jackman's sound.

to the west of us,[1] through much floting ice: in the ende wee found a cleere sea, and continued therein, till wee raysed land to the north-west. Then our master made his course more to the south then before, but it was not long ere we met with ice which lay ahead of us. Our master would have doubled this ice to the north, but could not; and in the end put into it downe to the south-west through much ice, and then to the south, where we embayed againe. Our master strove to get the shoare, but could not, for the great store of ice that was on the coast. From out of this bay we stood to the north, and were soone out of the ice: then downe to the south-west, and so to the west, where we were enclosed (to our sight) with land and ice. For wee had land from the south to the north-west on one side, and from the east to the west on the other; but the land that was to the north of us and lay by east and west, was but an iland. On we went till we could goe no further for ice: so we made our ship fast to the ice which the tyde brought upon us, but when the ebbe came, the ice did open, and made way; so as in seven or eight houres we were cleere from the ice, till we came to weather; but onely some of the great ilands, that were carried along with us to the north-west.

Having a cleere sea, our master stood to the west along by the south shoare, and raysed three capes or head-lands
Three capes. lying one above another. The middlemost is an iland, and maketh a bay or harbour, which (I take) will prove a good
Prince Henries Cape. one. Our master named them Prince Henries Cape or Foreland.[2] When we had layd this we raised another, which was the extreme point of the land looking towards the north: upon it are two hills,[3] but one (above the rest) like an hay-

[1] The Upper Savage Islands, and the land around North Bay. (62° 30′ N.; 70° W.)

[2] North Bluff. (62° 36′ N.; 71° 26′ W.)

[3] A pretty accurate description of the southern shore of the strait, from Cape Hope (or Hope's Advance) to Deception Bay.

cocke, which our master named King James his Cape.[1] To the north of this lie certaine ilands, which our master named Queene Annes Cape or Fore-land.[2] Wee followed the north shoare still. Beyond the Kings Cape there is a sound or bay, that hath some ilands in it: and this is not to be forgotten, if need be. Beyond this lyeth some broken land, close to the mayne, but what it is I know not, because we passed by it in the night.

King James his Cape.

Queen Annes Cape.

Wee stood to the north to double this land, and after to the west againe, till wee fell with land that stretched from the mayne, like a shewer[3] from the south to the north, and from the north to the west, and then downe to the south againe. Being short of this land a storme took us, the wind at west: we stood to the north and raised land, which when our master saw he stood to the south againe, for he was loath at any time that wee should see the north shoare. The storme continuing, and comming to the south shoare againe, our master found himself shot to the west a great way, which made him muse, considering his leeward way. To the south-west of this land, on the mayne, there is an high hill, which our master named Mount Charles.[4] To the north and beyond this lieth an iland, that to the east had a faire head, and

Note.

Mount Charles.

[1] Probably Cape Weggs. (62° 25′ N.; 73° 40′ W.)

[2] Evidently north-east of Charles's island; about 63° 50′ N.; 73° 40′ W. This shore is very imperfectly known, at least according to the last Admiralty chart of the Arctic Sea (1853); and it would be hazardous to make any positive statement about this site.

[3] A skewer? The rather confused course, before and afterwards, till they reached Charles Island, allows us no satisfactory guess about the position of this *shewer* or *skewer*. Did they perhaps fall in with Charles Island, then sail to the north, then a little to the west, and then to the south, and thus again to Charles Island? The above description is in accordance with the real aspect of the northern shore of the island.

[4] Charles's Island. According to Becherelle, "*situé à* 30 *ou* 35 *kilomètres de la côte N. du Labrador, dans le détroit de Hudson, long. de* 36 *kil. sur* 40 ; *lat.* 68° 40′ ; *longit.* 77° 20′." Hudson mistook it for part of the mainland.

beyond it to the west other broken land,[1] which maketh a bay within, and a good road may be found there for ships.

Cape Salsburie. Our master named the first Cape Salsburie.[2]

When we had left this to the north-east, we fell into a rippling or overfall of a current, which at the first we tooke to bee a shoald: but the lead being cast, wee had no ground. On we passed, still in sight of the south shoare, till we raised land lying from the mayne some two leagues. Our master tooke this to bee a part of the mayne of the north land; but it is an iland, the north side stretching out to the west more then the south. This iland had a faire head to the east, and very high land, which our master

Deepes Cape. named Deepes Cape:[3] and the land on the south side, now falling away to the south, makes another cape or headland,

Worsenhams Cape. which our master named Worsenhams Cape.[4] When wee were nigh the North or Iland Cape, our master sent the boat ashoare, with my selfe (who had the charge) and the carpenter, and divers others, to discover to the west and north-west, and to the south-west; but we had further to it then we thought, for the land is very high, and we were overtaken with a storme of raine, thunder and lightning. But to it we came on the north-east side, and up we got from one rock to another, till we came to the highest of that part.

Deere. Here we found some plaine ground, and saw some deere; as first, foure or five, and after, a dozen or sixteene in an herd, but could not come nigh them with a musket shot.

Thus, going from one place to another, wee saw to the west of us an high hill above all the rest, it being nigh us: but it proved further off then we made account; for, when

[1] Pricket's statement is obscure. Does he mean that the broken land here mentioned lies east or west of Salisbury Island?

[2] Salisbury Island, 63° 40′ N.; 79° W. It is marked as an island (not as a cape) on the chart. That clears up one part of Pricket's confused sentence, the other part remains obscure.

[3] *Diggs*, not *Deepes*. For the real locality, see above, p. 97, note 5.

[4] C. Wolstenholme.

wee came to it, the land was so steepe on the east and north-east parts that wee could not get unto it. To the south-west we saw that wee might, and towards that part wee went along by the side of a great pond of water, which lieth under the east side of this hill: and there runneth out of it a streame of water as much as would drive an over-shot mill; which falleth downe from an high cliffe into the sea on the south side. In this place great store of fowle breed, and there is the best grasse that I had seene since we came from England. Here wee found sorell, and that which wee call scurvy-grass in great abundance. Passing along wee saw some round hills of stone, like to grasse cockes, which at the first I tooke to be the worke of some Christian. Wee passed by them, till we came to the south side of the hill; we went unto them and there found more; and being nigh them I turned off the uppermost stone, and found them hollow within and full of fowles hanged by their neckes. Then Greene and I went to fetch the boat to the south-side, while Robert Billet[1] and hee got downe a valley to the sea side, where wee tooke them in.

Store of foule and grasse.

Sorell and scurvy grasse.

Fowles hanged.

Our mas (in this time) came in betweene the two lands, and shot off some peeces to call us aboord; for it was a fogge. Wee came aboord and told him what we had seene, and perswaded him to stay a day or two in this place, telling him what refreshing might there bee had: but by no meanes would he stay, who was not pleased with the motion. So we left the fowle, and lost our way downe to the south-west, before they went in sight of the land which now beares to the east from us, being the same mayne land that wee had all this while followed. Now we had lost the sight of it, because it falleth away to the east after some five and twenty

[1] Robert Bylot (thus his name is written by Fox and Purchas), was perhaps the most active northern navigator after Hudson had perished. He was also, as we shall see, made captain of Hudson's ship, after Green's death, and brought her safely home.

or thirty leagues.[1] Now we came to the shallow water, wherewith wee were not acquainted since we came from Island; now we came into broken ground and rockes, through which we passed downe to the south. In this our course we had a storme, and the water did shoald apace. Our master came to an anchor in fifteene fathoms water.

Wee weighed and stood to the south-east, because the land in this place did lie so. When we came to the point of the west land[2] (for we now had land on both sides of us), we came to an anchor. Our master sent the boat ashoare to see what that land was, and whether there were any way through. They soone returned, and shewed that beyond the point of land to the south there was a large sea. This land on the west side was a very narrow point. Wee weighed from hence and stood in for this sea betweene the two lands, which (in this place) is not two leagues broad downe to the south, for a great way in sight of the east shoare. In the end we lost sight thereof, and saw it not till we came to the bottome of the bay, into sixe or seven fathomes water. Hence we stood up to the north by the west shoare, till wee came to an iland in 53,[3] where we tooke in water and ballast.

Discord: see Widhouse his relations following.

From hence wee passed towards the north: but some two or three dayes after (reasoning concerning our comming into this bay and going out) our master took occasion to revive old matters, and to displace Robert Juet from being his mate, and the boatswaine from his place, for the words spoken in the first great bay of ice. Then hee made Robert

[1] Somewhat to the north of the deep recess called Mosquito Bay, the eastern shore of James Bay begins to trend in a south-east direction.

[2] Perhaps Charlton Island, in James's Bay, 52° 12′ N., the eastern coast being the terra firma of Labrador.

[3] There are several small islands in that latitude. They have no names on the charts the editor has seen.

[4] This description corresponds very well with a recess in the south-east corner of James's Bay, which has no name on the charts I am acquainted with. There is an island, also without name, at its mouth.

Billet his mate, and William Wilson our boatswaine. Up to the north wee stood till we raised land, then down to the south, and up to the north, then downe againe to the south: and on Michaelmasse day came in and went out of certaine lands, which our master sets downe by the name of Michaelmasse Bay,[1] because we came in and went out on that day. From hence wee stood to the north, and came into shoald water; and the weather being thicke and foule, wee came to an anchor in seven or eight fathome water, and there lay eight dayes: in all which time wee could not get one houre to weigh our anchor. But the eight day, the wind beginning to cease, our master would have the anchor up, against the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peake, a sea tooke her, and cast us all off from the capstone and hurt divers of us. Here wee lost our anchor, and if the carpenter had not beene, we had lost our cable too; but he (fearing such a matter) was ready with his axe, and so cut it.

Michaelmasse day and bay.

Anchor lost.

From hence we stood to the south and to the south-west, through a cleere sea of divers sounding, and came to a sea of two colours, one blacke and the other white, sixteene or seventeene fathome water, betweene which we went foure or five leagues. But the night comming we tooke in our top-sayles, and stood afore the wind with our maine-sayle and fore-sayle, and came into five or sixe fathomes, and saw no land, for it was darke. Then we stood to the east and had deepe water againe, then to the south and south-west, and so came to our westermost bay of all,[2] and came to an anchor neerest to the north shoare. Out went our boat to the land that was next us; when they came neere it our boat could not flote to the shoare it was so shallow: yet ashoare they got. Here our men saw the footing of a man and a ducke in the snowy rockes, and wood good store, whereof they

Sea of two colours.

Footing of a man.

[1] Hannah Bay?

[2] Probably North Bay, the south-west corner of James's Bay.

tooke some and returned aboord. Being at anchor in this place, we saw a ledge of rockes to the south of us, some league of length; it lay north and south, covered at a full sea; for a strong tide setteth in here. At midnight wee weighed, and stood to go out as we came in; and had not gone long, but the carpenter came and told the master, that if he kept that course he would be upon the rockes: the master conceived that he was past them, when presently wee ranne on them, and there stucke fast twelve houres; but (by the mercy of God) we got off unhurt, though not unscarred.

Sticke on a rocke.

Wee stood up to the east and raysed three hills, lying north and south: we went to the furthermost, and left it to the north of us, and so into a bay, where we came to an anchor.[1] Here our master sent out our boat, with myselfe and the carpenter to seeke a place to winter in; and it was time, for the nights were long and cold, and the earth covered with snow. Having spent three moneths in a labyrinth without end, being now the *last of October*, we went downe to the east, to the bottome of the bay; but returned without speeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the south and the south-west, and found a place, whereunto we brought our ship, and haled her aground: and this was the *first of November*. By the *tenth* thereof we were frozen in: but now we were in, it behoved us to have care of what we had; for that we were sure of, but what we had not was uncertaine.

Last of October.

November the tenth frozen in.

Wee were victualled for six moneths in good proportion, and of that which was good: if our master would have had more, he might have had it at home and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoved us so to spend, that we might have (when time came) to bring us to the capes where the fowle bred,[2] for that was all the hope wee

[1] Probably the south-eastern corner of James' Bay. This bay corresponds in almost every respect with the above description.

[2] Cape Wostenholme and the opposite cape on one of the Diggs' Islands (see p. 107).

had to bring us home. Wherefore our master tooke order, first for the spending of that wee had, and then to increase it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either beast, fish, or fowle, as in his journall you have seene. About the *middle* of this moneth of *November*, dyed John Williams, our gunner: God pardon the masters uncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I am come to speake of him, out of whose ashes (as it were) that unhappy deed grew which brought a scandall upon all that are returned home, and upon the action itselfe, the multitude (like the dog) running after the stone, but not at the caster: therefore, not to wrong the living nor slander the dead, I will (by the leave of God) deliver the truth as neere as I can.

John Williams dyeth.

You shall understand that our master kept (in his house at London) a young man, named Henrie Greene, borne in Kent, of worshipfull parents, but by his leud life and conversation hee had lost the good will of all his frinds, and had spent all that hee had. This man our master would have to sea with him, because he could write well: our master gave him meate, and drinke, and lodging, and by meanes of one Master Venson, with much adoe got foure pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master Venson would not trust him: but saw it laid out himselfe. This Henrie Greene was not set downe in the owners booke, nor any wages made for him. Hee came first aboord at Gravesend, and at Harwich should have gone into the field, with one Wilkinson. At Island[1] the surgeon and hee fell out in Dutch, and hee beat him a shoare[2] in English, which set all the company in a rage; so that wee had much adoe to get the surgeon aboord. I told the master of it, but hee bade mee let it alone, for (said he) the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend hee had. But Robert Juet (the masters mate) would needs burne his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale (when hee was

Henry Greenes bad conditions.

[1] A Iceland. [2] A sore?

drunke) that our master had brought in Greene to cracke his credit that should displease him: which words came to the masters eares, who when hee understood it, would have gone backe to Island, when he was fortie leagues from thence, to have sent home his mate Robert Juet in a fisherman. But, being otherwise perswaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood: but for religion he would say, he was cleane paper whereon he might write what he would. Now, when our gunner was dead, and (as the order is in such cases) if the company stand in need of any thing that belonged to the man deceased, then is it brought to the mayne mast, and there sold to them that will give most for the same. This gunner had a gray cloth gowne, which Greene prayed the master to friend him so much as to let him have it, paying for it as another would give: the master saith hee should, and thereupon he answered some, that sought to have it, that Greene should have it, and none else, and so it rested.

Greenes conspiracie.

Now out of season and time the master calleth the carpenter to goe in hand with an house on shoare, which at the beginning our master would not heare, when it might have been done. The carpenter told him, that the snow and frost were such, as hee neither could nor would goe in hand with such worke. Which when our master heard, hee ferreted him out of his cabbin to strike him, calling him by many foule names, and threatning to hang him. The carpenter told him that hee knew what belonged to his place better than himselfe, and that hee was no house carpenter. So this passed, and the house was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the master and the carpenter fell out, the carpenter tooke his peece[1] and Henry Greene with him, for it was an order that none should goe out alone, but one with a peece, and another with a pike. This did

[1] His gun.

move the master so much the more against Henry Greene, that Robert Billot his mate must have the gowne, and had it delivered unto him; which when Henry Greene saw, he challenged the masters promise: but the master did so raile on Greene, with so many words of disgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he. As for wages he had none, nor none should have, if he did not please him well. Yet the master had promised him to make his wages as good as any mans in the ship; and to have him one of the princes guard when we came home. But you shall see how the devil out of this so wrought with Green, that he did the master what mischiefe hee could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the ship in the end. To speake of all our trouble in this time of winter (which was so cold, as it lamed the most of our company, and my selfe doe yet feele it) would bee too tedious. Their hard wintring.

But I must not forget to shew how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for the space of three moneths wee had such store of fowle of one kinde (which were partridges as white as milke) that wee killed above an hundred dozen, besides others of sundry sorts: for all was fish that came to the net. The spring coming this fowle left us, yet they were with us all the extreame cold. Then in their places came divers sort of other fowle, as swanne, geese, duck, and teale, but hard to come by. Our master hoped they would have bred in those broken grounds, but they doe not; but came from the south, and flew to the north, further then we were this voyage; yet if they be taken short with the wind at north, or north-west, or north-east, then they fall and stay till the winde serve them, and then flye to the north. Now in time these fowles are gone, and few or none to be seene. Then wee went into the woods, hilles, and valleyes, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soever: the mosse of the ground, then the which I take Store of partridges. Other fowles succeeding in their seasons. Miserable diet.

the powder of a post to bee much better, and the frogge (in his ingendring time as loathsome as a toade) was not spared. But amongst the divers sorts of buds, it pleased God that Thomas Woodhouse brought home a budde of a tree full of a turpentine substance. Of this our surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part I confesse, I received great and present ease of my paine.[1]

Medicinable budde.

A savage.

About this time, when the ice began to breake out of the bayes, there came a savage to our ship, as it were to see and to bee seene, being the first that we had seene in all this time: whom our master intreated well, and made much of him, promising unto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would have all the knives and hatchets (which any man had) to his private use, but received none but from John King the carpenter, and my selfe. To this savage our master gave a knife, a looking-glasse, and buttons, who received them thankefully, and made signes that after hee had slept hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came hee brought with him a sled, which hee drew after him, and upon it two deeres skinnes and two beaver skinnes. Hee had a scrip under his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the master had given him. Hee tooke the knife and laid it upon one of the beaver skinnes, and his glasses and buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the master, who received them; and the savage tooke those things which the master had given him, and put them up into his scrip againe. Then the master shewed him an hatchet, for which hee would have given the master one of

Turke.

[1] The decoction here mentioned was probably an antiscorbutic medicine. Pricket's description of the malady, though so extremely vague, seems to justify this opinion. The editor has been unable to ascertain what tree Pricket refers to, or whether it is still applied to medical purposes.

his deere skinnes, but our master would have them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of people to the north and to the south, and that after so many sleepes he would come againe, he went his way, but never came more.

Now the ice being out of the sounds, so that our boat might go from one place unto another, a company of men were appointed by the master to go a fishing with our net; their names were as followeth: William Wilson, Henry Greene, Michael Perce, John Thomas, Andrew Moter, Bennet Mathewes, and Arnold Lodlo. These men, the first day they went, caught five hundred fish, as big as good herrings, and some troutes: which put us all in some hope to have our wants supplied, and our commons amended: but these were the most that ever they got in one day, for many dayes they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, Henry Green and William Wilson, with some others, plotted to take the net and the shallop, which the carpenter had now set up, and so to shift for themselves. But the shallop being readie, our master would goe in it himselfe to the south and south-west, to see if hee could meete with the people; for to that end was it set up, and (that way) wee might see the woods set on fire by them. So the master tooke the sayne and the shallop, and so much victuall as would serve for eight or nine dayes, and to the south hee went. They that remained aboord were to take in water, wood, and ballast, and to have all things in a readinesse against hee came backe. But hee set no time of his returne, for he was perswaded, if he could meet with the people, he should have flesh of them, and that good store: but hee returned worse than hee went forth. For he could by no meanes meete with the people, although they were neere them, yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight. Fishing.

Being returned, hee fitted all things for his returne, and first, delivered all the bread out of the bread roome (which

came to a pound a piece for every mans share) and delivered also a bill of returne, willing them to have that to shew, if it pleased God that they came home: and hee wept when hee gave it unto them. But to helpe us in this poore estate with some relicfe, the boate and sayne went to work on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noone: at which time they came aboord, and brought fourescore small fish, a poore relicfe for so many hungry bellies. Then we wayed and stood out of our wintering place, and came to an anchor without, in the mouth of the bay: from whence we wayed and came to an anchor without in the sea, where our bread being gone, that store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were five, whereat the company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left were equally divided by the master, although he had counsell to the contrarie: for there were some who having it, would make hast to bee rid thereof, because they could not governe it. I knew when Henrie Greene gave halfe his bread, which hee had for fourteene dayes, to one to keepe, and prayed him not to let him have any untill the next Munday: but before Wednesday at night hee never left till hee had it againe, having eaten up his first weekes bread before. So Wilson the boat-swaine hath eaten (in one day) his fortnights bread, and hath beene two or three dayes sicke for his labour. The cause that moved the master to deliver all the cheese, was because they were not all of one goodnesse, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them: but every man should have alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a halfe for seven dayes.

Relly straits.

The wind serving, we weighed and stood to the north-west, and on Munday at night (the *eighteenth day of June*)[1]

[1] The vagueness of Pricket's geographical statements, which precludes the satisfactory determination of the spot where Hudson wintered, makes it equally impossible to ascertain his course during the few days

wee fell into the ice, and the next day, the wind being at west, we lay there till Sunday in sight of land. Now being here, the master told Nicholas Simmes that there would be a breaking up of chests and a search for bread, and willed him, if hee had any, to bring it to him, which hee did, and delivered to the master thirty cakes in a bagge. This deed of the master (if it bee true) hath made me marvell what should bee the reason that hee did not stop the breach in the beginning, but let it grow to that height, as that it overthrew himselfe and many other honest men: but "*there are many devices in the heart of man, but the counsell of the Lord shall stand.*"

Wilson and Green, their wickedness.

Being thus in the ice on Saturday, the *one and twentieth of June*, at night, Wilson the boatswayne, and Henry Greene, came to mee lying (in my cabbin) lame, and told mee that they and the rest of their associates would shift the company, and turne the master and all the sicke men into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves. For there was not fourteen daies victuall left for all the company, at that poore allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the master not caring to goe one way or other: and that they had not eaten any thing these three dayes, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would goe through with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to heare so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wives and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foule a thing in the sight of God and man as that would bee; for why should they banish themselves from their native countrie? Henry Greene bad me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when hee came

he spent in his ship after leaving his harbour of refuge. The scene of the important events narrated on the present and the next pages was at no great distance (N.W.) from the south-eastern corner of James Bay. It seems impossible to fix the locality with any greater degree of precision.

home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home then starved abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would have mee stay in the ship. I gave them thankes, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt my selfe and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then, that I must take my fortune in the shallop. If there be no remedy (said I) the will of God bee done.

Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturbe them, and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talke, but to no good: for he was so perswaded, that there was no remedie now but to goe on while it was hot, least their partie should faile them, and the mischiefe they had intended to others should light on themselves. Henry Greene came againe, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered: He is in his old song, still patient. Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three dayes, in which time I would so deale with the master that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbeare but two dayes, nay twelve houres; there is no way then (say they) but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Munday, I would joyne with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would justify it when I came home; but this would not serve their turnes. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand then they made shew of, and that it was bloud and revenge hee sought, or else he would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Henry Greene (with that) taketh my bible which lay before me, and sware that hee would doe no man harme, and what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson sweare.

Robert Juet. See Widhouses notes.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came Juet, who, because hee was an ancient man, I hoped to have found some reason in him; but hee was worse than Henry Greene,

for hee sware plainly that he would justifie this deed when he came home. After him came John Thomas and Michael Perce as birds of one feather; but because they are not living, I will let them goe, as then I did. Then came Moter and Bennet, of whom I demanded, if they were well advised what they had taken in hand. They answered, they were, and therefore came to take their oath.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to perform what they had begun, I thought good heere to set downe to the viewe of all, how well their oath and deedes agreed: and thus it was:—"You shall sweare truth to God, your prince and countrie: you shall doe nothing, but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harme to no man." This was the oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions (although these were too many) but there came no more. It was darke, and they in a readinesse to put this deed of darkness in execution. I called to Henry Greene and Wilson, and prayed them not to goe in hand with it in the darke, but to stay till the morning. Now, everie man (I hope) would goe to his rest, but wickednesse sleepeth not; for Henry Greene keepeth the master company all night (and gave mee bread, which his cabbin-mate gave him) and others are as watchfull as he. Then I asked Henrie Greene, whom he would put out with the master? he said, the carpenter John King, and the sicke men. I said, they should not doe well to part with the carpenter, what need soever they should have. Why the carpenter was in no more regard amongst them was, first, for that he and John King were condemned for wrong done in the victuall. But the chiefest cause was for that the master loved him and made him his mate, upon his return out of our wintering place, thereby displacing Robert Billet, whereat they did grudge, because hee could neither write

Oath abused.

nor read. And therefore (said they) the master and his ignorant mate would carry the ship whither the master pleased: the master forbidding any man to keepe account or reckoning, having taken from all men whatsoever served for that purpose. Well, I obtained of Henry Greene and Wilson that the carpenter should stay, by whose meanes I hoped (after they had satisfied themselves) that the master and the poore man might be taken into the ship againe. Or, I hoped, that some one or other would give some notice, either to the carpenter John King or the master; for so it might have come to passe by some of them that were the most forward.

The carpenter spared.

Now, it shall not bee amisse to shew how wee were lodged, and to begin in the cooke roome; there lay Bennet and the cooper lame; without the cooke roome, on the steere-board side, lay Thomas Wydhouse[1] sicke; next to him lay Sydrack Funer lame; then the surgeon, and John Hudson with him; next to them lay Wilson the boatswaine, and then Arnold Lodlo next to him: in the gun-roome lay Robert Juet and John Thomas; on the larboord side lay Michael Bute and Adria Moore, who had never beene well since wee lost our anchor; next to them lay Michael Perce and Andrew Moter. Next to them, without the gun-roome, lay John King, and with him Robert Billet:[2] next to them my selfe, and next to me Francis Clements. In the midship, betweene the capstone and the pumpes, lay Henrie Greene and Nicholas Simmes. This night John King was late up, and they thought he had beene with the master, but he was with the carpenter, who lay on the poope, and comming downe from him was met by his cabbin-mate, as it were by chance, and so they came to their cabbin together. It was not long ere it was day: then came Bennet for water

[1] The "student of mathematics," whose "paper found in his desk" forms part of the present collection.

[2] Bylot.

for the kettle, hee rose and went into the hold: when hee was in they shut the hatch on him (but who kept it downe I know not), up upon the deck went Bennet.

In the meane time Henrie Greene and another went to the carpenter, and held him with a talke till the master came out of his cabbin (which hee soone did); then came John Thomas and Bennet before him, while Wilson bound his armes behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him he should know when he was in the shallop. Now Juet, while this was a doing, came to John King into the hold, who was provided for him, for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at a bay, and might have killed him, but others came to helpe him: and so he came up to the master. The master called to the carpenter and told him that he was bound, but I heard no answere he made. Now Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute rayled at them, and told them their knaverie would shew itselfe. Then was the shallop haled up to the ship side, and the poore, sicke, and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabbins into the shallop. The master called to me, who came out of my cabbin as well as I could, to the hatch way to speake with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to doe as they would be done unto. They bade me keepe myselfe well, and get me into my cabbin; not suffering the master to speake with me. But when I came into my cabbin againe, hee called to me at the horne which gave light into my cabbin, and told mee that Juet would overthrow us all; nay (said I) it is that villaine Henrie Greene, and I spake it not softly. They bind the master

Now was the carpenter at libertie, who asked them if they would bee hanged when they came home: and as for himselfe, hee said, hee would not stay in the ship unlesse they would force him: they bad him goe then, for they would not stay him. I will (said hee) so I may have my chest with The carpenter let goe.

mee, and all that is in it: they said hee should, and presently they put it into the shallop. Then hee came downe to mee to take his leave of mee, who persuaded him to stay, which if he did, he might so worke that all should bee well: hee said, hee did not thinke but they would be glad to take them in againe. For he was so persuaded by the master, that there was not one in all the ship that could tell how to carry her home; but (saith hee) if we must part (which wee will not willingly doe, for they would follow the ship) hee prayed mee, if wee came to the Capes[1] before them, that I would leave some token that we had been there, neere to the place where the fowles bred, and hee would doe the like for us: and so (with teares) we parted. Now were the sicke men driven out of their cabbins into the shallop; but John Thomas was Francis Clements friend, and Bennet was the Coopers, so as there were words betweene them and Henrie Greene, one saying that they should goe, and the other swearing that they should not goe, but such as were in the shallop should returne. When Henrie Greene heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute, which with much adoe they did.

In the meane time, there were some of them that plyed their worke as if the ship had been entred by force and they had free leave to pillage, breaking up chests and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should doe. I answered, hee should make an end of what hee had begun; for I saw him doe nothing but sharke up and downe. Nowe were all the poore men in the shallop, whose names are as followeth: Henrie Hudson, John Hudson,[2] Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Phillip Staffe, Thomas

The names of the company exposed in the shallop.

[1] Cape Worstenholme and Cape Diggs.

[2] Several works on arctic discovery assert that this John Hudson was the *son* of the great navigator. This is merely a conjecture, though not an unlikely one. It rests upon the fact that John was a boy when he lost his life together with his supposed father.

Woodhouse or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henrie King, Michael Bute. The carpenter got of them a peece, and powder, and shot, and some pikes, an iron pot, with some meale, and other things. They stood out of the ice, the shallop being fast to the sterne of the shippe, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say they were cleane out) they cut her head fast from the sterne of our ship, then out with their top-sayles, and towards the east they stood in a cleere sea. In the end they tooke in their top-sayles, righted their helme, and lay under their fore-sayle till they had ransacked and searched all places in the ship. In the hold they found one of the vessels of meale whole, and the other halfe spent, for wee had but two; wee found also two firkins of butter, some twentie-seven pieces of porke, halfe a bushell of pease; but in the masters cabbin we found two hundred of bisket cakes, a pecke of meale, of beere to the quantitie of a butt, one with another. Now it was said that the shallop was come within sight, they let fall the mainsayle, and out with their top-sayles, and fly as from an enemy.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselves; but William Wilson (more than the rest) would heare of no such matter. Comming nigh the east shore they cast about, and stood to the west and came to an iland,[1] and anchored in sixteene or seventeene fathome water. So they sent the boat and the net ashoare to see if they could have a draught; but could not for rocks and great stones. Michael Perse killed two fowle, and heere they found good store of that weede which we called cockle-grasse in our wintering-place, whereof they gathered store, and came aboard againe. Heere we lay that night and the best part of the next day,

[1] Pricket's geographical statements about the return voyage are even vaguer than those about the voyage out. A few of them only serve as foundations for guesses at the real localities touched by the returning party. The statement to which the present note refers is not of that number; and it is absolutely impossible to guess what *island* is here meant.

Last sight of the shallop.

in all which time we saw not the shallop, or ever after. Now Henrie Greene came to me and told mee, that it was the companies will that I should come up into the masters cabbin and take charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for Robert Juet: he said he should not come in it, nor meddle with the masters card or journals. So up I came, and Henrie Greene gave me the key of the masters chest, and told me then, that he had laid the masters best things together, which hee would use himselfe when time did serve: the bread was also delivered to me by tale.

The wind serving, wee stood to the north-east, and this was Robert Billets course, contrarie to Robert Juet, who would have gone to the north-west. We had the easterne shoare still in sight, and (in the night) had a stout gale of wind, and stood afore it till wee met with ice, into the which we ranne from thinne to thicke, till we could goe no further for ice, which lay so thicke ahead of us (and the wind brought it after us asterne) that wee could not stirre backward nor forward; but so lay imbayed fourteene daies in worse ice then ever wee met to deale withall, for we had beene where there was greater store, but it was not so broad upon the water as this; for this floting ice contained miles and halfe miles in compasse, where we had a deepe sea, and a tide of flood and ebbe, which set north-west and south-east. Heere Robert Juet would have gone to the north-west, but Robert Billet was confident to go through to the north-east, which he did. At last, being cleere of this ice, he continued his course in sight of the easterne shore till he raysed foure islands, which lay north and south; but we passed them sixe or seven leagues, the wind tooke us so short. Then wee stood backe to them againe, and came to an anchor betweene two of the most northernmost. We sent the boat ashoare, to see if there were any thing there to be had, but found nothing but cockle-grasse, whereof they gathered

Foure ilands.

[1] Probably not far from Portland Point, 58° 50′ N., 79° W.

store, and so returned aboord. Before we came to this place, I might well see that I was kept in the ship against Henry Greenes minde, because I did not favour their proceedings better than I did. Then hee began (very subtilly) to drawe me to take upon me to search for those things which himselfe had stolne: and accused me of a matter no lesse then treason amongst us, that I had deceived the company of thirtie cakes of bread. Now they began to talke amongst themselves, that England was no safe place for them, and Henry Greene swore the shippe should not come into any place (but keepe the sea still) till he had the kings majesties hand and seale to shew for his safetie. They had many devices in their heads, but Henry Greene in the end was their captaine, and so called of them.

The wicked flee where none pursueth.

From these ilands we stood to the north-east and the easter land still in sight: wee raysed those ilands, that our master called Rumnies Ilands.[1] Betweene these ilands and the shallow ground, to the east of them, our master went downe into the first great bay.[2] We kept the east shoare still in our sight, and comming thwart of the low land, wee ranne on a rocke that lay under water, and strooke but once; for if shee had, we might have beene made inhabitants of that place; but God sent us soone off without any harme that wee saw. Wee continued our course and raysed land a head of us, which stretched out to the north: which when they saw, they said plainly, that Robert Billet by his northerly course had left the capes to the south, and that they were best to seeke downe to the south in time for reliefe before all was gone; for we had small store left. But Robert Billet would follow the land to the north, saying that he hoped in God to find somewhat to releeve us that way as

[1] These islands are not marked on Hudson's chart; they are, however, certainly near the mouth of Mosquito Bay. Perhaps some of the islands near Cape Smith are meant.

[2] Mosquito Bay.

soone as to the south. I told them that this land was the mayne of Worsenhome Cape, and that the shallow rockie ground was the same that the master went downe by when he went into the great bay. Robert Juet and all said it was not possible, unlesse the master had brought the ship over land, and willed them to looke into the masters card and their course how well they did agree. We stood to the east and left the mayne land to the north, by many small ilands into a narrow gut betweene two lands, and there came to an anchor.[1] The boat went ashoare on the north side, where we found the great horne, but nothing else. The next day wee went to the south side, but found nothing there save cockle grasse, of which we gathered. This grasse was a great reliefe unto us, for without it we should hardly have got to the capes for want of victuall. The wind serving we stood out, but before we could get cleane out the wind came to the west, so that we were constrayned to anchor on the north side.

Cockle grasse.

The next day, wee weighed and doubled the point of the North Land, which is high land, and so continued to the capes, lying north and south, some five-and-twentie or thirtie leagues. To the north we stood to see store of those foules that breed in the Capes, and to kill some with our shot, and to fetch them with our boat. We raised the Capes with joy and bare for them, and came to the ilands that lie in the mouth of the streight;[2] but bearing in betweene the Rockie

[1] They were near the eastern coast of the bay, and, as appears from the statements on the next page, about twenty-five leagues (seventy-five roots) south of Cape Worstenholme. But they themselves had entirely lost their way. We see them groping about like children in a strange place, trying to find some locality the features of which they remember. The capes, that is to say Cape Worstenholme and Cape Diggs, were their great hope. Their anxiety to reach them was so great, that they actually were afraid they had passed them and were to the north of them, whilst in reality they were more than a degree to the south of these capes.

[2] The strait between Cape Worstenholme and Cape Diggs. The *islands* are those of the Diggs' Islands group.

Iles, we ranne on a rocke that lay under water, and there stucke fast eight or nine houres. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the floud set us afloat, God guiding both wind and sea, that it was calme and faire weather: the ebbe came from the east, and the floud from the west. When wee were afloat wee stood more neere to the east shore, and there anchored. A rocke. Note.

The next day, being the *seven and twentieth of July*, we sent the boat to fetch some fowle, and the ship should way and stand as neere as they could, for the wind was against us. They had a great way to row, and by that meanes they could not reach to the place where the fowle bred; but found good store of gulls, yet hard to come by, on the rocks and cliffes; but with their peeces they killed some thirtie, and towards night returned. Now wee had brought our ship more neere to the mouth of the streights,[1] and there came to an anchor in eighteene or twentie fathom water, upon a riffe or shelfe of ground; which after they had weighed their anchor, and stood more neere to the place where the fowle bred,[2] they could not find it againe, nor no place like it: but were faine to turne to and fro in the mouth of the streight, and to be in danger of rockes, because they could not find ground to let fall an anchor in, the water was so deepe. July 27.

The *eight and twentieth* day, the boat went to Digges his Cape for fowle, and made directly for the place where the fowle bred, and being neere, they saw seven boates come about the easterne point towards them. When the savages saw our boate, they drew themselves together, and drew their lesser boats into their bigger: and when they had done, they came rowing to our boat, and made signes to the west, but they made readie for all assayes. The savages came to Savages.

[1] The northern mouth of the strait.

[2] The reader will remember, that on their first visit to Cape Diggs, they had found there an abundance of birds and eggs.

them, and by signes grew familiar one with another, so as our men tooke one of theirs into our boate, and they tooke one of ours into their boate. Then they carried our man to a cove where their tents stood towards the west of the place, where the fowle bred: so they carried him into their tents, where he remayned till our men returned with theirs. Our boat went to the place where the fowle bred, and were desirous to know how the savages killed their fowle: he shewed them the manner how, which was thus: they take a long pole with a snare[1] at the end, which they put about the fowles necke, and so plucke them downe. When our men knew that they had a better way of their owne, they shewed him the use of our peeces, which at one shot would kill seven or eight. To be short, our boat returned to their cove for our man and to deliver theirs. When they came they made great joy, with dancing, and leaping, and stroking of their breasts: they offered divers things to our men, but they only tooke some morses teeth, which they gave them for a knife and two glasse buttons: and so receiving our man they came aboard, much rejoicing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the world.

Savages manner of fowling.

And Henry Greene (more then the rest) was so confident, that (by no meanes) we should take care to stand on our guard: God blinding him so, that where hee made reckoning to receive great matters from these people, he received more then he looked for, and that suddenly, by being made a good example for all men: that make no conscience of doing evill, and that we take heed of the savage people, how simple soever they seeme to be.

Greenes confidence.

The next day, the *nine and twentieth of July*, they made haste to be ashoare,[2] and because the ship rid too farre off,

[1] A noose. This method of the Hudson's Bay Esquimaux, of catching birds with a sort of lasso, has, the editor believes, not been mentioned by any other voyager in these regions.

[2] On Cape Diggs' Island.

they weighed and stood as neere to the place where the fowle bred as they could; and because I was lame I was to go in the boat, to carry such things as I had in the cabbin, of every thing somewhat; and so, with more haste then good speed (and not without swearing) away we went, Henry Greene, William Wilson, John Thomas, Michael Perse, Andrew Moter, and my selfe. When we came neere the shoare, the people were on the hils dancing and leaping: to the cove we came, where they had drawne up their boates: wee brought our boate to the east side of the cove, close to the rockes. Ashoare they went, and made fast the boat to a great stone on the shoare; the people came, and every one had somewhat in his hand to barter; but Henry Greene swore they should have nothing till he had venison, for they had so promised him by signes.

Savages dogges.

Now when we came, they made signes to their dogges (whereof there were many like mongrels, as bigge as hounds), and pointed to their mountaine and to the sunne, clapping their hands. Then Henry Greene, John Thomas, and William Wilson stood hard by the boate head, Michael Perse and Andrew Moter were got up upon the rock a gathering of sorrell; not one of them had any weapon about him, not so much as a sticke, save Henry Greene only, who had a piece of a pike in his hand: nor saw I any thing that they had wherewith to hurt us. Henry Greene and William Wilson had looking-glasses, and Jewes' trumps,[1] and bels, which they were shewing the people. The savages standing round about them, one of them came into the boats head to me to shew me a bottle: I made signes to him to get him ashoare, but he made as though he had not understood me, whereupon I stood up and pointed him ashoare. In the meane-time another stole behind me to the sterne of the boat, and when I saw him ashoare that was in the head of the boat I sate downe againe, but suddenly I saw the legge

Savages trecherie.

[1] Jew's harps.

and foote of a man by mee. Wherefore I cast up my head, and saw the savage with his knife in his hand, who strooke at my breast over my head: I cast up my right arme to save my brest, he wounded my arme, and strooke me into the bodie under my right pappe. He strooke a second blow, which I met with my left hand, and then he strooke me into the right thigh, and had like to have cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now I had got hold of the string of the knife, and had woond it about my left hand, he striving with both his hands to make an end of that he had begune: I found him but weake in the gripe (God enabling me), and getting hold of the sleeve of his left arme, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeve off his left arme into my left hand, holding the string of the knife fast in the same hand; and having got my right hand at liberty, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him (not remembring my dagger at my side), but looking downe I saw it, and therewith strooke him into the bodie and the throate.

Trecherie just to unjust traytors.

Whiles I was thus assaulted in the boat, our men were set upon on the shoare. John Thomas and William Wilson had their bowels cut, and Michael Perse and Henry Greene, being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the boat together. When Andrew Moter saw this medley, hee came running downe the rockes, and leaped into the sea, and so swamme to the boat, hanging on the sterne thereof, till Michael Perse took him in, who manfully made good the head of the boat against the savages, that pressed sore upon us. Now Michael Perse had got an hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the sea. Henry Greene crieth *Coraggio*, and layeth about him with his truncheon. I cryed to them to cleere the boat, and Andrew Moter cryed to bee taken in. The savages betooke them to their bowes and arrowes, which they sent amongst us, wherewith Henry Greene was slaine outright, and

Greene slayne.

Michael Perse received many wounds, and so did the rest. Michael Perse cleereth the boate, and puts it from the shoare, and helpeth Andrew Moter in; but in turning of the boat I received a cruell wound in my backe with an arrow. Michael Perse and Andrew Moter rowed the boate away, which, when the savages saw, they ranne to their boats, and I feared they would have launched them to have followed us, but they did not, and our ship was in the middle of the channell and could not see us.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the shoare, Michael Perse fainted, and could row no more. Then was Andrew Moter driven to stand in the boat head, and waft to the ship, which at the first saw us not, and when they did they could not tell what to make of us, but in the end they stood for us, and so tooke us up. Henry Greene was throwne out of the boat into the sea, and the rest were had aboard, the savage being yet alive, yet without sense. But they died all there that day, William Wilson swearing and cursing in most fearefull manner. Michael Perse lived two dayes after, and then died. Thus you have heard the tragicall end of Henry Greene and his mates, whom they called captaine, these foure being the only lustie men in all the ship.

Wicked and wretched end of wretched wicked men.

The poore number that was left were to ply our ship to and fro in the mouth of the streight,[1] for there was no place to anchor in neere hand. Besides, they were to go in the boate to kill fowle to bring us home, which they did, although with danger to us all. For if the wind blew there was an high sea, and the eddies of the tydes would carrie the ship so neere the rockes as it feared our master, for so I will now call him. After they had killed some two hundred fowle, with great labour, on the south cape,[2] wee stood to

[1] The strait between Cape Worstenholme and Cape Diggs, in the neighbourhood of which the scenes just related by Pricket took place.

[2] Cape Diggs.

the east, but when wee were sixe or seven leagues from the capes, the wind came up at east. Then wee stood backe to the capes again, and killed an hundred fowle more. After this the wind came to the west, so wee were driven to goe away, and then our master stood (for the most) along by the north shoare, till he fell into broken ground about the Queen's Foreland,[1] and there anchored. From thence wee went to God's Mercies, and from thence to Rose Ilands,[2] which lye in the mouth of our streight, not seeing the land till we were readie to runne our bosprite against the rockes in a fogge. But it cleered a little, and then we might see our selves inclosed with rockie ilands, and could find no ground to anchor in. There our master lay a trie all night, and the next day, the fogge continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in, and found some in an hundred and odde fathomes of water. The next day we weighed and stood to the east, but before wee came heere we had put ourselves to hard allowance, as halfe a foule a day with the pottage, for yet we had some meale left and nothing else. Then they beganne to make triall of all whatsoever. Wee had flayed our fowle, for they will not pull, and Robert Juet was the first that made use of the skins by burning of the feathers; so they became a great dish of meate, and as for the garbidge, it was not thrown away.

Miserie pursueth the rest.

After we were cleere of these ilands, which lie out with two points, one to the south-east and the other to the north, making a bay to the sight as if there were no way through, we continued our course east-south-east and south and by east, to raise the Desolations,[3] from thence to shape our

[1] Queen's Cape, a headland of the northern shore of Hudson's Strait, to the north of Salisbury Islands. This locality is, though very vaguely, indicated on Hudson's chart, and is even now very inaccurately known, so that it is not easy to fix the exact locality of the *Queen's Foreland* of Pricket.

[2] Apparently some of the islands near Cape Chidley, perhaps Killinek and Kikkertorsoak.

[3] The south-east coast of Greenland.

course for Ireland. Thus wee continued divers dayes; but the wind comming against us made us to alter our course, and by the meanes of Robert Juet, who perswaded the company that they should find great reliefe in Newfoundland if our countrymen were there, and if they were gone before we came yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashore by them; but how true, I give God thankes we did not trie. Yet we stood to the south-west and to the west almost to fiftie seven degrees, when (by the will of God) the winde came up at south-west. Then the master asked me if he should take the benefit of this wind, and shape his course for Ireland. I said it was best to goe where we knew corne grew, and not to seeke it where it was cast away and not to be found. Towards Ireland now wee stood, with prosperous winds for many dayes together. Then was all our meale spent, and our fowle restie and dry; but (being no remedie) we were content with the salt broth for dinner and the halfe fowle for supper. Now went our candles to wracke, and Bennet, our cooke, made a messe of meate of the bones of the fowle, frying them with candle grease till they were crispe, and, with vineger put to them, made a good dish of meate. Our vineger was shared, and to every man a pound of candles delivered for a weeke, as a great daintie. Now Robert Juet (by his reckoning) saith wee were within sixtie or seventie leagues of Ireland, when wee had two hundred thither. And sure our course was so much the longer through our evill steeredge, for our men became so weake that they could not stand at the helme, but were faine to sit. Poore diet.

Then Robert Juet dyed for meere want, and all our men were in despaire, and said wee were past Ireland, and our last fowle were in the steep tub. So our men cared not which end went forward, insomuch as our master was driven to looke to their labour as well as his owne; for some of them would sit and see the fore sayle or mayne sayle flie up Robert Juets death.

to the tops, the sheets being either flowne or broken, and would not helpe it themselves nor call to others for helpe, which much grieved the master. Now in this extremitie it pleased God to give us sight of land, not farre from the place our master said he would fall withall, which was the bay of Galloway,[1] and we fell to the west of the Derses,[2] and so stood along by the coast to the south-west. In the end there was a joyful cry, a sayle, a sayle, towards which they stood. Then they saw more, but to the neerest wee stood, and called to him; his bark was of Fowy,[3] and was at anchor a fishing. He came to us, and brought us into Bere Haven.[4] Here we stayed a few dayes, and delt with the Irish to supply our wants, but found no relefe, for in this place there was neither bread, drinke, nor mony to be had amongst them. Wherefore they advised us to deale with our countrymen who were there a fishing, which we did, but found them so cold in kindnesse that they would doe nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the ship. In the end we procured one John Waymouth, master of the barque that brought us into this harbour, to furnish us with money, which hee did, and received our best cable and anchor in pawne for the same. With this money our master, with the help of John Waymouth, bought bread, beere, and beefe.

A sayle of Fowy. Bere Haven in Ireland.

Now, as wee were beholding to Waymouth for his money, so were wee to one Captaine Taylor for making of our contracts with Waymouth, by whose meanes hee tooke a bill for our cable and anchor and for the men's wages, who would not go with us unless Waymouth would passe his word for the same: for they made show that they were not willing to goe with us for any wages. Whereupon Captaine Taylor swore he would presse them, and then, if they would not goe, hee would hang them.

In conclusion, wee agreed for three pound ten shil-

[1] Galway. [2] Dursey Island, near the south-west coast of Ireland.
[3] Fowey, in Cornwall. [4] Beer Haven, south-west coast of Ireland.

lings a man to bring our ship to Plimouth or Dartmouth, and to give the pilot five pound; but if the winde did not serve, but that they were driven to put into Bristow, they were to have foure pound ten shillings a man, and the pilot sixe pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from Bere Haven wee came to Plimouth, and so to an anchor before the castle; and from Plimouth, with faire winde and weather without stop or stay, wee came to the Downes, from thence to Gravesend, where most of our men went a shoare, and from thence came on this side Erith, and there stopped: where our master Robert Billet came aboord, and so had mee up to London with him, and so wee came to Sir Thomas Smiths together.

They arrive at Plimouth.

Forasmuch as this report of Pricket may happely bee suspected by some, as not so friendly to Hudson, who returned with that companie which had so cruelly exposed Hudson and his, and therefore may seeme to lay heavier imputation, and rip up occasions further then they will beleeve, I have also added the report of Thomas Wydhouse, one of the exposed companie, who ascribeth those occasions of discord to Juet. I take not on mee to sentence, no not to examine; I have presented the evidence just as I had it; let the bench censure, hearing with both eares, that which with both eyes they may see in those and these notes; to which I have first prefixed his letter to Master Samuel Macham.

MASTER MACHAM, I heartily commend mee unto you, etc. I can write unto you no newes, though I have seene much, but such as every English fisherman haunting these coasts can report better then my selfe.

Wee kept our Whitsunday in the north-east end of Island,[1]

[1] Iceland.

and I thinke I never fared better in England then wee feasted there. They of the countrey are very poore, and live miserably, yet we found therein store of fresh fish and daintie fowle. I my selfe in an afternoone killed so much fowle as feasted all our company, being three and twentie persons, at one time, onely with partridges, besides curlue, plover, mallard, teale, and goose. I have seene two hot bathes in Island, and have beene in one of them. Wee are resolved to trie the uttermost, and lye onely expecting a faire winde, and to refresh ourselves to avoid the ice, which now is come off the west coasts, of which we have seene whole islands, but God bee thanked, have not beene in danger of any. Thus I desire all your prayers for us.

Ilanders poore.

The cause of their stay at Island.

From Island, this *thirtieth of May*, 1610.

A NOTE FOUND IN THE DESKE OF THOMAS WYDOWSE,

STUDENT IN THE MATHEMATICKES, HEE BEING ONE OF THEM WHO WAS PUT INTO THE SHALLOP.

THE *tenth day of September*, 1610, after dinner, our master called all the companie together, to heare and beare witnesse of the abuse of some of the companie (it having beene the request of Robert Juet) that the master should redresse some abuses and slanders, as hee called them, against this Juet: which thing after the master had examined and heard with equitie what hee could say for himselfe, there were prooved so many and great abuses, and mutinous matters against the master, and action by Juet, that there was danger to have suffered them longer: and it was fit time to punish and cut off farther occasions of the like mutinies.

It was prooved to his face, first with Bennet Mathew, our

trumpet, upon our first sight of Island,[1] and he confest, that hee supposed that in the action would bee manslaughter, and prove bloodie to some.

Secondly, at our comming from Island, in hearing of the companie, hee did threaten to turne the head of the ship home from the action, which at that time was by our master wisely pacified, hoping of amendment.

Thirdly, it was deposed by Philip Staffe, our carpenter, and Ladlie Arnold,[2] to his face upon the holy bible, that hee perswaded them to keepe muskets charged, and swords readie in their cabbins, for they should be charged with shot ere the voyage were over.

Fourthly, wee being pestered in the ice, hee had used words tending to mutinie, discouragement, and slander of the action, which easily took effect in those that were timourous; and had not the master in time prevented, it might easily have overthrowne the voyage: and now lately being imbayed in a deepe bay, which the master had desire to see, for some reasons to himselfe knowne, his word tended altogether to put the companie into a fray of extremitie, by wintering in cold. Jesting at our masters hope to see Bantam by Candlemasse.

For these and divers other base slanders against the master hee was deposed, and Robert Bylot, who had shewed himselfe honestly respecting the good of the action, was placed in his stead the masters mate.

Also Francis Clement, the boatson, at this time was put from his office, and William Wilson, a man thought more fit, preferred to his place. This man had basely carryed himselfe to our master and to the action.

Also Adrian Mooter was appointed boatsons mate, and a promise by the master, that from this day Juets wages should remaine to Bylot, and the boatsons overplus of wages should be equally divided betweene Wilson and one John King,

[1] Iceland. [2] Arnold Ludlow, or Lodlo.

to the owners good liking, one of the quarter masters, who had very well carryed themselves to the furtherance of the businesse.

Also the master promised, if the offenders yet behaved themselves henceforth honestly, hee would bee a meanes for their good, and that hee would forget injuries, with other admonitions.

These things thus premised touching Hudsons exposing, and God's just judgments on the exposers, as Pricket hath related (whom they reserved, as is thought, in hope by Sir Dudley Digges his master to procure their pardon at their returne), I thought good to adde that which I have further received from good intelligence, that the ship comming aground at Digges Island, in 62 degrees 44[1] minutes, a great flood came from the west and set them on floate: an argument of an open passage from the South Sea to that, and consequently to these seas. The weapons and arts which they saw, beyond those of other savages, are arguments hereof. Hee which assaulted Pricket in the boate, had a weapon broad and sharpe indented, of bright steele (such as they use in Java), riveted into a handle of morse tooth.

[1] The latitude assigned by Wydhouse to Diggs' Island is incorrect, at least as regards the Diggs' Island of Hudson, which is undoubtedly opposite to, and therefore nearly in the same latitude as Cape Worstenholme (62° 25′). It is impossible to ascertain how the mistake arose. But it is curious to observe that this mistake, by which Cape Diggs is placed so much too far north, is of an opposite nature to that committed by Hudson himself with regard to Cape Farewell, which he places several minutes too far south. Wydhouse's mistake has undoubtedly influenced the opinion of modern map makers, who invariably place Diggs' Island too far north-west, or rather give that name to an island to which it did not originally belong.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMAGE.

FOL., LOND., 1626, 817.

VI.

OF HUDSON'S DISCOVERIES AND DEATH.

HENRY HUDSON, 1607, discovered further north toward the pole, then, perhaps, any before him. He found himselfe in 80 degrees, 23 minutes, where they felt it hot, and dranke water to coole their thirst. They saw land (as they thought) to 82, and further on the shore they had snow, morses teeth, deeres hornes, whale-bones, and footing of other beasts, with a streame of fresh water. The next yeere, 1608, he set forth on a discovery to the north-east, at which time they met, as both himselfe and Juet have testified, a mermaid in the sea, seene by Thomas Hils and Robert Rainer. Another voyage he made, 1609, and coasted Newfoundland, and thence along to Cape Cod. His last and fatall voyage was 1610, which I mentioned in my former edition,[1] relating the same as Hesselius Gerardus had guided me, by his card and reports, who affirmeth that he followed the way which Captaine Winwood had before searched by Lumleys Inlet, in 61 degrees, so passing thorow the strait to 50, etc. But having since met with better instructions, both by the helpe of my painfull friend Master Hakluit (to whose labours these of mine are so much indebted), and specially from him who was a speciall setter forth of the voyage, that

He communicated to me Hudsons abstract, Th. Widhouse, Abacuk Pricket, of this voyage.

[1] *Purchas Pilgrimage*, fol., Lond., 1617, contains an account of Hudson's voyages entirely founded on the 1612 edition of Hessel Gerritsz's *Detectio freti*.

learned and industrious gentleman Sir Dudley Digges (how willingly could I here lose my selfe in a parenthesis of due praises! to whom these studies have seemed to descend by inheritance in divers descents, improved by proper industry, employed to publike good both at home and in discoveries and plantations abroad, and for my particular! but why should I use words, unequall pay to him, unequall stay to thee?) from him, I say, so great a furtherer of the north-west discoverie, and of your discoverer the poore Pilgrim and his pilgrimage, having received full relations, I have beene bold with the reader to insert this voyage more largely.

Sir Tho. Smith.

In the yeare 1610, Sir Tho. Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master John Wostenholme, with other their friends, furnished out the said Henry Hudson, to try if, through any of those inlets which Davis saw but durst not enter, on the westerne side of Fretum Davis, any passage might be found to the other ocean called the South Sea. There barke was named the Discoverie. They passed by Island, and saw Mount Hecla cast out fire (a noted signe of foule weather towards; others conceive themselves and deceive others with I know not what purgatorie fables hereof confuted by Arngrin Jonas, an Islander, who reproveth this and many other dreames related by authors, saying, that from the yeere 1558 to 1592 it never cast forth any flames) they left the name to one harbour in Island, Lousy Bay: they had there a bath hot enough to scald a fowle. They raised Gronland the *fourth of June*, and Desolation after that; whence they plyed north-west among ilands of ice, whereon they might runne and play, and filled sweet water out of ponds therein: some of them aground in sixe or seven score fadome water, and on divers of them beares and patriches They

A. Jo. Crymogæa.[1]

[1] Extracts of Arngrim Jonas, an Islander, his Chrymogæa or Historie of Island, published anno Domini 1609.—*Purchas Pilgrims*, iii, p. 654-659.

gave names to certaine ilands, of Gods mercy, Prince Henries Forland, K. James his Cape, Q. Annes Cape. One morning, in a fogge, they were carried by a set of the tide from N.E. into one of the inlets above mentioned, the depth whereof and plying forward of the ice made Hudson hope it would prove a through-fare. After he had sailed herein by his computation 300 leagues west, he came to a small strait of two leagues over, and very deepe water, through which he passed betweene two headlands, which he called, that on the south Cape Wostenholme, the other to the N.W. Digges Iland, in deg. 62, 44[1] minutes, into a spacious sea, wherein he sayled above a hundred leagues south, confidently proud that he had won the passage.

Hudsons wintering.

But finding at length by shole water that he was embayed, he was much distracted therewith, and committed many errours, especially in resolving to winter in that desolate place, in such want of necessarie provision. The *third of November* he moored his barke in a small cove, where they had all undoubtedly perished, but that it pleased God to send them several kinds of fowle: they killed of white patridges above a hundred and twentie dozen. These left them at the spring, and other succeeded in their place, swan, goose, teale, ducke, all easie to take; besides the blessing of a tree, which in *December* blossomed, with leaves greene and yellow, of an aromaticall savour, and being boyled yeelded an oyly substance, which proved an excellent salve, and the decoction being drunke proved as wholesome a potion, whereby they were cured of the scorbute, sciaticas, crampes, convulsions, and other diseases, which the coldnesse of the climate bred in them. At the opening of the yeere also, there came to his ships side such abundance of fish of all sorts, that they might therewith have fraught themselves for their returne, if Hudson had not too despe rately pursued the voyage, neglecting this oportunitie of

A strange race.

[1] See note to page 138.

storing themselves with fish, which hee committed to the care of certaine carelesse dissolute villaines, which in his absence conspired against him; in few dayes the fish all forsooke them. Once a savage visited them, who for a knife, glasse, and beades given him, returned with bevers skins, deeres skins, and a sled. At Hudsons returne, they set sayle for England. But in a few dayes, their victuals being almost spent, and hee, out of his despaire, letting fall some words of setting some on shore, the former conspirators (the chiefe whereof was Hen. Greene, none of their allowed company, but taken in by Hudson himselfe; and one Wilson) entred his cabin in the night, and forced him the master, together with his sonne John Hudson, Tho. Widowes,[1] Arn. Ludlo, Sidrach Faner, Ad. Moore, Hen. King, Mic. Bute, to take shallop and seeke their fortune. But see what sinceritie can doe in the most desperate tryals. One Philip Staffe, an Ipswich man, who, according to his name, had beene a principall staffe and stay to the weaker and more enfeebled courages of his companions in the whole action, lightening and unlightening their drooping darkened spirits, with sparkes from his owne resolution; their best purveyor, with his peece on shore, and both a skilfull carpenter and lusty mariner on board; when he could by no perswasions, seasoned with tears, divert them from their divellish designes, notwithstanding they entreated him to stay with them, yet chose rather to commit himselfe to Gods mercy in the forlorne shallop, then with such villaines to accept of likelier hopes.

These were the worst, or weakest of the company.

A few dayes after, their victuals being spent, the ship came aground at Digges Iland, and so continued divers houres, till a great floud (which they by this accident tooke first notice of) came from the westward and set them on flote. Upon the cliffes of this Island they found aboundance of fowles tame, whereof they tooke two or three hundred,

A floud from the west, a very probable argument of an open passage in the South

[1] Woodhouse, or Wydhouse, or Wydowes.

and seeing a great long boat with forty or fifty savages upon the shore, they sent on land; and for some of their toyes had deeres skinnes well dressed, morse-teeth, and some few furres. One of our men went on land to their tents, one of them remaining for hostage, in which tents they lived by hoords, men, women, and children; they are bigge boned, broad faced, flat nosed, and small footed, like the Tartars: their apparell of skinnes, but wrought all very handsomely, even gloves and shooes. The next morning Greene would needs goe on shore with some of his chiefe companions, and that unarmed, notwithstanding some advised and intreated him the contrary. 'The savages entertained him with a cunning ambush, and at the first onset shot this mutinous ringleader into the heart (where first those monsters of treacherie and bloodie crueltie, now payed with the like, had beene conceived) and Wilson, his brother in evil, had the like bloody inheritance, dying swearing and cursing: Perse, Thomas, and Moter dyed a few dayes after of their wounds. Every where can Divine Justicee find executioners.

Sea, and so are their weapons, and arts, very farre beyond other savages.

The boat, by Gods blessing, with some hurt men escaped in this manner. One Abacucks Pricket, a servant of Sir Dudley Digges, whom the mutiners had saved in hope to procure his master to worke their pardon, was left to keepe the shallop, where he sate in a gowne, sicke and lame, at the sterne: upon whom, at the instant of the ambush, the leader of all the savages leapt from a rocke, and with a strange kinde of weapon, indented, broad, and sharpe, of bright steele, riveted into a handle of morse-tooth, gave him divers cruell wounds, before he could from under his gowne draw a small Scottish dagger, wherewith at one thrust into his side he killed this savage, and brought him off with the boat, and some of the hurt company that got to him by swimming. Being got aboord with a small weake and wounded company, they made from this island unto the northerne continent, where they saw a large opening of the sea north-

See his Relation of the third part of my Pilgrimage, with others many for these parts. A such they use in Java.

westward, and had a great floud, with such a large billow, as they say, is no where but in the ocean. From hence they made all possible haste homewards, passing the whole straits, and so home, without ever striking sayle or any other let, which might easily have made it impossible. For their best sustenance left them was sea-weeds fryed with candles ends, and the skins of the fowles they had eaten. Some of their men were starved, the rest all so weake, that onely one could lye along upon the helme and steere. By God's great goodnesse, the *sixth of September* 1611, they met with a fisherman of Foy, by whose meanes they came safe into England.

HUDSON'S FIRST VOYAGE, (1607).

FROM EDGE'S BRIEF DISCOUERIE OF THE MUSCOUIA MERCHANTS.

(PURCHAS, III, P. 464.)

IN the year 1608,[1] the said fellowship set forth a ship called the Hope-well, whereof Henry Hudson was master, to discover the pole; where it appeareth by his journal[2] that hee came to the height of eighty-one degrees, where he gave names to certayne places upon the continent of Greenland formerly discovered, which continue to this day, namely, Whale Bay[3] and Hakluyt's Headland;[4] and being hindred with ice, returned home, without any further use made of the country, and in ranging homewards he discovered an

[1] The real date of the voyage to Spitzbergen is 1607. That of 1608 was directed to Nova Zembla.

[2] The log-book of the first voyage, which forms pp. 1-22 of the present volume, is ascribed by Purchas partly to John Playse, partly to Hudson. According to a side-note on p. 12, Purchas thinks that the notes from the 11th of July down to the end *seem* to be due to Hudson. The log-book contains, however, no mention of Hakluyt's Headland nor of Hudson's Tutches, both mentioned in the journal which Edge saw. The observation about the distance from Greenland to Spitzbergen, derived by Fotherby from the same journal, is likewise not to be met with in the log-book.

[3] The *naming* of Whale Bay is not mentioned in the log-book. The bay is, however, spoken of as *Whale's Bay* on p. 20. A description is to be found on p. 14, from which it appears that the bay is near Collins' Cape, somewhere about the north-west extremity of Spitzbergen, not far from 80°. Hudson saw there many whales, and lost part of his line in fishing for one. That same whale nearly upset his ship. This occurrence is alluded to on p. 20.

[4] Hakluyt's Headland appears on all the ancient maps of Spitzbergen;

island lying in seventy-one degrees, which he named Hudson's Tutches.[1]

CAPTAIN FOTHERBY'S STATEMENT CONCERNING HUDSON'S JOURNAL OF HIS FIRST VOYAGE.

(PURCHAS, III, P. 730.)

HAVING perused Hudson's journall, writ by his own hands, in that voyage wherein he had sight of certayne land, which he named Hold-with-Hope,[2] I found that by his owne reckoning it should not be more than one hundred leagues from King James his Newland,[3] and in latitude 72° 30'.

for the first time on that of the arctic regions, of Jodocus Hondius, included in the present collection. Still it is impossible to fix the exact locality. The headland is very near Collins' Cape and Whales' Bay, but still farther north-west. Modern maps place it on the north-west extremity of Spitzbergen, on the mainland, or on some one of the neighbouring islands.

[1] A direct clue to this important discovery is *not* furnished by the logbook. It contains no detailed entry between the ship's departure from Bear Island (74° 30' N., 19° E.), and its arrival at the Faroër Islands in 62°. Still there can hardly be any doubt about the fact, that *Hudson's Tutches* is identical with the JAN MAYEN ISLAND of our maps (71° 20' N., 19° W.) The number of European islands in latitude 71° is very small. Those to the north of Norway were too well known in Hudson's time to be mentioned as new discoveries, even had he touched one of them; but they are many degrees too far east to fall into his track. Then only Jan Mayen remained. To touch it Hudson must have sailed rather more to the west than was necessary. His purpose in doing so is, however, explained by his observations on p. 20. (See the passage to which note 1 on that page refers.)

[2] According to the logbook (p. 6) the latitude is 73°.

[3] Spitzbergen. The logbook contains no calculations, like the one indicated here, as forming part of Hudson's journal.

HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE (1609).

FROM VAN METEREN'S HISTORIE DER NEDERLANDEN.

FOL., HAGUE, 1614, FOL. 629. a.

WE have observed in our last book, that the Directors of the Dutch East India Company sent out in March last year, on purpose to seek a passage to China by northeast or northwest, an experienced English pilot, named Henry Hudson, in a vlie boat,[1] having a crew of eighteen or twenty hands, partly English, partly Dutch.[2]

This Henry Hudson left the Texel the 6th of April,[3] 1609, and having doubled the Cape of Norway[4] the 5th of

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WY hebben in t voorgaende Boech gheseyt dat de Oost-Indische Bewindthebbers in Hollandt, in Meerte lest uytghesonden hadden om passagie by het Noordt-oosten ofte Noordt-westen te soecken nae China, te weten een Kloeck Enghels Piloot Herry Hutson ghenoemt, met eenen Vlieboot ontrent achthien ofte twintich Mannen, Engelsche ende Nederlanders op hebbende, wel besorcht.

Desen Herry Hutson is uyt Texel uyt-ghevaren den sesten April 1609. ende hy dubbelde de Cabo van Norweghen den vijfden Mey,

[1] Vlie boats were rather flat bottomed yachts, constructed for the difficult navigation of the sandy entrance to the Zuyder Zee, between the islands of Vlieland and Texel, called the *Vlie*. These vessels and even their name were imitated by the English, who called them fly-boats, and by the French, who called them *flûtes*. (Compare Brodhead, *Hist. of New York*, pp. 23, 24, note.)

[2] There is no such notice in the preceding book of Van Meteren.

[3] This is new style. Juet (p. 45) says that they sailed from the Texel on the 27th of March. The difference between the two styles was, in 1609, ten days. Thus the 27th of March and the 6th of April are identical.

[4] The North Cape. (Juet, p. 45.)

May, directed his course along the northern coasts towards Nova Zembla; but he there found the sea as full of ice as he had found it in the preceding year, so that he lost the hope of effecting anything during the season. This circumstance, and the cold which some of his men who had been in the East Indies could not bear, caused quarrels among the crew, they being partly English, partly Dutch; upon which the captain, Henry Hudson, laid before them two propositions; the first of these was, to go to the coast of America to the latitude of 40°. This idea had been suggested to him by some letters and maps which his friend Capt. Smith had sent him from Virginia,[1] and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the western ocean, by the north of the southern English colony. Had this information been true (experience goes as yet to the contrary), it would have been of great advantage, as indicating a short way to India. The other proposition was, to direct their search to

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ende hielt sijnen cours na Nova Zembla langhs de Noortsche Kusten, maer vondt aldaer de Zee soo vol ijs, als hy 't voorgaende Jaer ghevonden hadde, soo dat sy de hoope van dat Jaer aldaer den moet verloren: waer over om de koude, die eenighe die wel in Oost-Indien gheweest waren, qualijck herduren Konden, zijn sy twistigh gheworden onder den anderen, zijnde Enghelsche ende Nederlanders, waer over de Schipper Hutson hun voor hiel twee dinghen, d' eerste was te gaen op veertigh graden na de custen van America, hier toe meest beweeght zijnde, door Brieven ende Caerten, die een Capiteyn Smit hem uyt Virginia ghesonden hadde, daer mede hy hem aenwees een Zee, om te varen hun Zuytsche Colonie aende Noordt-zijde, ende van daer te gaen in een Westerlijcke Zee dat welcke soo alsoo gheweest ware, (alsoo de ervarentheyt tot noch toe contrarie wijst,) soo soude het een seer vorderlijcke saecke gheweest hebben, ende eenen korten wegh om inde Indien te vaeren. Den anderen voorslagh was, den wegh te

[1] The probable nature of these maps will be explained in the introduction.

Davis's Straits. This meeting with general approval, they sailed on the 14th of May,[1] and arrived with a good wind at the Faroe Islands, where they stopped but twenty-four hours to supply themselves with fresh water. After leaving these islands, they sailed on till, on the 18th of July, they reached the coast of Nova Francia, under 44°, where they were obliged to land for the purpose of getting a new foremast, having lost theirs. They found this a good place for cod-fishing, as also for the traffic in skins and furs, which were to be got there at a very low price. But the crew behaved badly towards the people of the country, taking their property by force; out of which there arose quarrels among them.[2] The English fearing that they would be out-num-

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soecken door de strate Davis, dat welcke sy Generalijcken besloten, dies sy den 14 Meye derwaerts toe zeylden, ende quamen met goeden Windt den lesten Meye, aent Eylandt van Faro, daer sy alleenlijck vieren-twintigh uren overbrochten, met versche Water in te nemen, vertreckende voeren sy totten 18 Julij tot op de Custen van Nova Francia, op vier en veertich graden, daer sy moesten inloopen, om eenen nieuwen voor-mast te bekomen, den haren verlooren hebbende, die sy daer vonden ende opstelden, sy vonden die plaetse bequaem om Cabbeliaeu te vanghen, als oock om Traffique, van goede Huyden ende Pelsen, ofte weyeringhe dat aldaer om een kleyn dinghen te bekomen was, maer het schipvolck leefden qualijck mettet landt-volck, dinghen met gheweldt nemende, waer over sy twistigh onder den anderen werden, de Enghelsche vreesende dat sy vermandt waren ende weecksten,

[1] Juet has purposely omitted all statements concerning the voyage from the North Cape to Nova Zembla, and back to the North Cape. There is no entry between the 5th and the 19th of May. For the important events which passed in the interval, Van Meteren is the only authority.

[2] Near Pennobscot Bay, Juet, pp. 60, 61. Juet tries to justify the conduct of the crew, saying that they distrusted the *savages*, and that in robbing them and firing at them, they did so as the savages would have done to them.

bered and worsted, were therefore afraid to make any further attempt. They left that place on the 26th of July, and kept out at sea till the 3rd of August, when they were again near the coast in 42° of latitude. Thence they sailed on till, on the 12th of August, they reached the shore under 37° 45'. Thence they sailed along the shore, until we (*sic*) reached 40° 45', where they found a good entrance, between two headlands, and thus entered on the 12th of September, into as fine a river as can be found, with good anchoring ground on both sides.

Their ship sailed up the river as far as 42° 40'. Then their boat went higher up. Along the river they found sensible and warlike people; whilst in the highest part the people were more friendly, and had an abundance of provisions, skins, and furs, of martens and foxes, and many other commodities, as birds and fruit; even white and red grapes. These Indians traded most amicably with the people from

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ende daeromme vreesden sy vorder te versoecken, aldus scheyden sy van daer den 26 Julij, ende hielden de zee tot den derden Augustij, ende quamen by landt op twee-en veertich graden, van daer voeren sy vorder tot den 12 Augustij, sy quamen weder by landt, op de latitude van seven-en ertich drie quart, van daer hielden sy by lant, tot dat wy quamen op veertich en drie quart graden, aldaer sy vonden eenen goeden ingangh tusschen twee hoofden, ende voeren daerinne den 12 Septembris, een alsoo schoonen Reviere als men konde vinden, wijdt ende diepe ende goeden ancker grondt, ende was aen beyden zijden, eyndelijck quamen sy op de latitude van twee-en-veertich graden, ende veertich minuten, met hun groot schip. Dan haer schips boot voer hooger inde Reviere. Voor inde Reviere vonden sy Kloeck ende weerbaer volck, maer binnen in t'uyterste vonden sy vriendelijck ende beleeft volck, die veel lijftocht hadden, ende veel Vellen ende Pelterijen, Maertens, Vossen ende veel ander commoditeyten, voghelen vruchten, selve Wijn-druyven, witte ende roode, ende handelden beleefdelijcken metten volcke, ende brochten van als wat mede: als

the ship; and of all the above mentioned commodities, they brought some home. When they had thus been about fifty leagues up the river, they returned on the 4th of October, and went again to sea. More could have been done, if the crew had been willing, and if the want of some necessary provisions had not prevented it. While at sea, they held council together, but were of different opinions. The mate, a Dutchman, advised to winter in Newfoundland, and to search the north-western passage of Davis throughout. This was opposed by Hudson. He was afraid of his mutinous crew, who had sometimes savagely threatened him, and he feared that during the cold season they would entirely consume their provisions, and would then be obliged to return. Many of the crew also were ill and sickly. Nobody however spoke of returning home to Holland, which circumstance made the captain still more suspicious. He proposed therefore to sail to Ireland, and winter there; which they all agreed to. At last they arrived at Dartmouth,

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sy nu ontrent xyftich mijlen hoogh op de Reviere gheweest hadden zijn sy weder-ghekeert den vierden Octobris, ende hebben hun weder ter zee begheven, daer hadden meer konnen uyt gherecht worden, hadde daer goeden wille in t'schipvolck gheweest, ende soo mede ghebreck van eenighe nootdruft, sulcks niet hadde verhindert. In Zee hebben sy hun beraedtslaeght, ende waren van verscheyden opinien, de Onder Schipper een Nederlander, was van meyninghe op Terra Nova, te gaen verwinteren, ende de noordtweste passagie van Davis te door-soecken, daer was de Schipper Hutson tegen, die vreesde sijn gemuytineert volck, om sy by wijlen hem rouwelijck hadden ghedreycht, ende datse mede, voor de koude des Winters, hun gheheel souden verterren, ende dan moeten keeren, veel van 't volck teer ende sieckelijck, niemandt nochtans sprack van t'huys nae Hollandt te varen, dat den Schipper meerder-hande achter-dencken gaf, dies hy voorsloech nae Irlant te varen verwinteren, daer sy alle toestemden, dan ten lesten zijn sy in Enghelandt, tot Dertmouth den sevenden November ghekomen, van

in England, the 7th of November, whence they informed their employers the Directors of the East India Company of their voyage. They proposed to them to go out again for a search in the north-west, and that besides the pay, fifteen hundred florins should be laid out for an additional supply of provisions. Hudson also wanted six or seven of his crew exchanged for others, and their number raised to twenty. He was then going to leave Dartmouth on the 1st of March, so as to be in the north-west towards the end of that month, and there to spend the whole of April, and the first half of May, in catching whales and other fish in the neighbourhood of Panar Island ;[1] thence to sail to the north-west, and there to pass the time till middle of September, and then to return to Holland along the north-eastern coast of Scotland. Thus this voyage passed off.

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waer sy haer Meesters de Bewindt-hebbers in Hollandt hebben haer reyse verwittight, voorslagh doende dat sy van het noort-weste te gaen versoecken, met vijfthien hondert gulden in ghelde meer in noordruft te besteden, beneffens den loon, ende dat sy in t' schip alreede hadden, dies wilde hy ses ofte seven van sijn volck verandert hebben, tot, twintich mannen, 't geral op makende, etc., ende souden van Dertmouth t'seyle gaen, ontrent den eersten Meerte, om in, t noort-western te wesen, tegen t'eynde van Meerte, ende daer de Maendt van April ende half Meye, over te brenghen met Walvisschen ende Beesten te dooden, ontrent het Eylandt van Panar, ende dan nae het noort-westen te varen, om aldaer den tijdt over te brengen tot half September, en daer na door het Noortoosten

[1] No such name as Panar Island occurs on old maps. The only likely explanation is that the island meant is the *Ys. de Arena* of Ortelius, about 49°, near the coast of Newfoundland, then a general fishing station, and undoubtedly a most fitting starting-point for a north-western expedition. This Ys. de Arena was somehow turned into Panar Island by the somewhat negligent editor who published the MS. of the last books of Van Meteren after his death. This mistake has been rendered quite ludicrous by Van der Donck, who actually states that Hudson touched the *Canary Islands* on his third voyage.

A long time elapsed through contrary winds before the Company could be informed of the arrival of the ship in England. Then they ordered the ship and crew to return as soon as possible. But when they were going to do so, Henry Hudson and the other Englishmen of the ship were commanded by government there not to leave England but to serve their own country. Many persons thought it rather unfair that these sailors should thus be prevented from laying their accounts and reports before their employers, chiefly as the enterprise in which they had been engaged was such as to benefit navigation in general. These latter events took place in January 1610, and it was then thought probable that the English themselves would send ships to Virginia, to explore the river found by Hudson.

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van Schotlandt, weder te keeren na Hollandt. Aldus is die reyse afgheloopen, ende eer de Bewint-hebbers hebben connen geadverteert worden, van haer komste in Enghelandt, is het door contrarie wint langhe aengheloopen, ende hebben 't schip ende volck ontboden ten eersten t'huys te komen, ende alsoo 't selfde soude geschieden, is den schipper Herry Hutson van wegen die Overheydt aldaer, belast niet te moghen vertrecken, maer dienst te moeten doen, sijn eygen Lant, also mede de ander Engelsche die int schip waren, dat nochtans vreemt velen dunckt, datmen de schippers niet toelaten soude reeckeninghe ende rapport te doene van haren dienst ende besoingne, &c.; aen hun Meesters, zijnde uytghesonden voor 't gemeyne beneficie van alderhande navigatien, dit gheschiede in Januario, 1610, ende men achte dat de Enghelsche hem selve wilden mette Schepen nae Virginia senden, om daer de voorsz Reviere vorder te versoecken.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE (1609), FROM JOHN DE LAET'S NIEUWE WERELT.

FOL., AMSTERDAM, 1625, 1630.

I.

(FROM BOOK III, CHAP. 7.)

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the privileged East India Company, in 1609, dispatched the yacht, "Half Moon," under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and super-cargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of Newfoundland in latitude 43° 23',[1] he made the land in latitude 44° 15',[2] with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade.

WAT de eerste ontdeckinghe belanght, in den jare 1609 sonden de Bewindt-hebbers van de gheoctroyeerde Oost-Indische compagnie het jacht de halve mane, daer voor schipper ende koopman op voer Hendrick Hudson, om in 't noordt-oosten een door-ganc naer China te soecken: dan sy veranderden van Kours, ende staken over naer Nova Francia, ende de banck van Terreneuf ghepasseert hebbende op de 43 graden ende 23 minuten gheraeckten't landt met een w. n. w. ende n. w. Kours op de 44 graden ende 15 minuten, ende landen daer by sekere Wilden, by de welcke, soo sy

[1] Near Cape Sable, Nova Scotia: see p. 53, note 1; p. 55, note 1.

[2] On the coast of Maine, a few miles to the north of Pennobscot Bay, where they afterwards cut a new foremast for their ship: see Juet, July 17th, p. 59; Van Meteren, p. 149, note 2.

Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until running south-south-west and south-west by south, he again made land in latitude 41° 43′, which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland,[1] but afterwards dis-

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verstonden, de Francoysen jaerlijckx komen handelen: van hier keerden sy zuydt-waert op tot datse met een z. z. w. ende z. w. ten z. gangh weder't landt ghewaer wierden op de 41 graden ende 43 minuten, welck sy meynden een Eylandt te wesen, ende gavent den naem van Nieuvv Hollandt, dan bevonden daer naer dat het

[1] It is a question of some moment whether Hudson really called Cape Cod New Holland. His doing so would imply an intention on his side to take possession of the country in the name of the Dutch. De Laet is the only one of our authorities who saw Hudson's own journal of the third voyage, and if we could fully believe his statements, every doubt would be removed. But the discrepancies between him, Juet, and Purchas, and the mistakes committed by each of them with regard to Cape Cod, render a satisfactory conclusion impossible. De Laet believes Cape Cod to be in latitude 41° 43′, Juet places it under 40° 10′, whilst Purchas assigns to it two different latitudes, 41° 10′ and 41° 45′ (see pp. 64, 66, and Purchas's side-notes to these pages). On the other hand, the name of *New Holland* is on the old Dutch maps, not given to Cape Cod itself, but to the peninsula of Barnstaple, of which Cape Cod forms the extreme point; and the mean latitude of that peninsula is, indeed, about 41° 43′, whilst Cape Cod lies under 42° 4′, and has, on all the old Dutch maps, one or even more names of its own, viz., Cape Cod, Cape James, Statenhoek, Withoek. It is also certain, from Juet, pp. 64, 65, that Hudson explored part of Barnstaple peninsula. Under these circumstances it might be thought that a very small correction would set De Laet's account right, and that the peninsula of Barnstaple was indeed called *New Holland* by Hudson. But it is quite clear from Juet, p. 66, that the spot mistaken by Hudson for Cape Cod was in latitude 40° 10′, a reef in the sea, which he very correctly considered as an island. This reef was probably situated south of Nantucket. It is, under these circumstances, to be feared that De Laet set the example, afterwards followed by Van der Donck, of tampering with his materials; and that he made Hudson give the name of New Holland, because he desired it to be understood that Hudson wished to take possession of the country, a fact which is very improbable. The name of New Holland was given to Barnstaple before the year 1615. It is to be found on a chart of that date preserved in the Archives of the Hague. (A facsimile in O'Callaghan's *Hist. of New Netherland*, vol. i.)

covered that it was Cape Cod, and that according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude 37 15′; the coast was low, running north and south, and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven, and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place Dry Cape.[1]

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in lat. 38° 9′,[2] where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along the coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the

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Cap Cod was, ende dat het naer haer besteck wel vijf-en seventich mijlen westelijcker leght als in alle Kaerten ghestelt wordt. Van hier vervielen sy tot de 37 graden ende 15 minuten, alwaer sy weder landt saghen, ende streckte hem z. ende n. Is een vlacke Kuste, ende daer streckt een banck langhs de Kuste henen, waer binnen het 8, 9, 10, 11, 7, ende 6½ vadem diep is sandt-grondt: sy noemden dese plaetse de drooghe Caep. Daer naer noordt-waert aen loopende, gheraeckten sy weder't landt op acht-en-dertich graden en neghen minuten, ende was een wit sandt-strandt, ende binnen vol groene boomen, streckte daer n. n. o. ende z. z. w. ontrent acht mijlen, ende dan z. ende n. seven mijlen, ende voort z. o. ende n. w. vijf mijlen: zeylden al langhs de wal noorden aen, tot dat sy aen een punt quamen, ende t'landt streckte doen w. n. w. ende was een baye daer eenighe rievieren in quamen, van

[1] Probably Cape Charles, at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, 37° 10′.

[2] Assateague Island, near the coast of Maryland.

east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude 38° 54′. Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.[1]

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood; the coast running north-east by east and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or headland, behind which was situated a bay, which they entered and run up into a roadstead near a low sandy point, in lat. 40° 18′.[2] There they

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desen hoeck sagen sy landt naer't o. n. o. welck sy meynden eẽn Eylandt te wesen, dan bevonden het vaste landt, ende den tweeden hoeck van die baye, op de hooghte van 38 graden ende 54 minuten: ende alsoo sy haer Kours n. w. ten n. aen stelden, vonden sy haer selven in een baye verseylt, ende ghemoeten veel barninghen, soo dat sy z. z. o. weder uyt-stonden: sy vermoeden datter een groote rievier most uyt-loopen, door de groote stroom die daer uytsette, ende vele sanden ende droogten veroorsaeckte: hielent van hier voorts langs de wal, was wit sandt-strandt, ende binnen al verdroncken landt, ende 't binnen landt al vol boomen, streckte n. o, ten n, ende z. w, ten z, daer naer streckte n. ten, o. ende was hoogher landt als sy noch ghesien hadden, tot aen eenen hooghen hoeck, achter de welcke een baye leght, alwaer sy op de reeden lieppen, achter een leeghen sandt-hoeck, op de veertich graden

[1] The bay and river are the Delaware Bay and River. The second point of the bay, in latitude 38° 54′ (incorrect by a few miles), is Cape May.

[2] Hudson river. They entered near Sandy Hook and Sandy Hook Bay. (See Juet, p. 77.)

were visited by two savages clothed in elk-skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a north-easterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth, that they found it necessary to return.

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ships or Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with his report, and in the following year 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called Manhattes from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses, the States General, granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege

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ende achthien minuten; daer quamen twee Wilden by haer in elandts vellen gekleet, die haer alle teeckenen van vrientschap bethoonden, vonden daer aen't landt menichte van blauw pruymen, eñ de schoonste eycken van lenghte ende dickte die men sien konde, poplieren, lonen, ende alderhande houdt dat van noode is tot de schepen te bouwen; voeren van hier n. ten o. aen, ende de rievieren op, to by de 43 graden by noorden de linie, alwaer de rievier heel nauw werdt ende ondiep, soo dat sy te rugghe keerden. Naer alle 'tgene sy konden oordeelen ende bevinden, soo en waren in dit quartier noch noyt eenige schepen ofte Christenen geweest, soo dat sy de eerste waren die dese rievier ontdeckten, ende soo hooghe op voeren. Hendrick Hudson met dit raport weder ghekeert zijnde 't Amsterdam, soo hebben eenighe koop-lieden in den jare 1610 weder een schip derwaerts gesonden, te weten naer dese tweede rievier, de welcke sy den naem gaven van Manhattes; naer de naem van de Wilden die aen't begin van dese rieviere woonen: ende in de volghende jaren hebben de Ho. Mog. Heeren

of navigating this river and trading there;[1] whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of which we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither, from year to year, for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of New Netherlands.

Staten Generael aen dese koop-lieden octroy verleent om alleen op dese rieviere te mogen varen ende den handel te drijven: waer over in den jare 1615 boven op de voornoemde rieviere een redoute ofte fortjen wierdt geleght met een kleyn besettinghe, daer wy hier naer noch sullen van spreken; ende is dese vaert by de onse sints jaerlijcks ghecontinueert, ende door-gaens van ons volck daer blijven legghen om den handel met de Wilden te drijven; waer door dit quartier ten rechten den naem van Niew-Nederlandt heeft verckreghen.

II.

(FROM BOOK III, CHAPTER 10.)

HENRY HUDSON, who first discovered this river, and all that have since visited it, express their admiration of the noble trees growing upon its banks; and Hudson has himself described the manners and appearance of the people that he found dwelling within this bay, in the following terms:—

HENDRICK HUDSON die dese riviere eerst heeft ontdeckt, ende alle die naerderhandt daer hebben gheweest, weten wonder te seggben van de schoone boomen die hier wassen: de selve beschrijft ons de manieren ende ghestalte van't volck, welck hy stracx binnen de baye vondt aldus: Als ick aent land 't quam, stonde alle de Swarten

[1] These facts are not quite correctly stated. See Brodhead, *Hist. of New York*, pp. 60, 61.

"When I came on shore, the swarthy natives all stood around and sung in their fashion; their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals, which they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts. Their food is Turkish wheat (maize or Indian corn), which they cook by baking, and it is excellent eating. They all came on board, one after another, in their canoes, which are made of a single hollowed tree; their weapons are bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones, which they fasten with hard resin. They had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of trees. They always carry with them all their goods, such as their food and green tobacco, which is strong and good for use. They appear to be a friendly people, but have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they take a fancy to."

In latitude 40° 48′, where the savages brought very fine oysters to the ship, Hudson describes the country in the

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en songhen op hare wijse; haer kleederen syn vellen van vossen ende andere beesten die sy bereyden, ende maken kleerderen van vellen, van aller hande sorteringhen, haer eten is Turcxsche tarwe, daer sy koecken van backen, ende is goet eeten; quamen al temet aen boordt d'een voor d'ander naer, met haer prauwen van een heel houdt gemaeckt; haer geweer is bogen ende pijlen met scharpe steentjens voor aen, die sy daer aen vast maken met spiegel harst; hadden daer geen huysen, sliepen al onder den blaeuwen Hemel, sommige op mattijens aen malkanderen ghewrocht van biesen, sommighe op bladeren van boomen, dragen altijts al haer goet met heur datse hebben, als eten ende groenen toback welck sterck is ende goet om nemen; schijnt vriendelijck volck te zijn, dan is seer gheneghen tot stelen, ende subtiel om wegh te halen alles 't gheene haer aenstaet. Op de hooghte van veertich graden ende acht-en veertich minuten, al waer de Wilde seer schoone oesters aen syn schip brachten, ghetuycht de voor-noemde Hudson van 't

following manner:—"It is as pleasant a land as one need tread upon; very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding, and for making large casks or vats. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper might naturally exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand preparing it for use.

Hudson also states that they caught in the river all kinds of fresh-water fish with seines, and young salmon[1] and sturgeon. In latitude 42° 18′ he landed:—"I sailed to the shore," he says, "in one of their canoes, with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and

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landt aldus; Is soo schoonen landt als men met voeten betreden mach, over-vloedigh van alderhande houdt, om schepen te bouwen, ende om groote vaten van te maken; t' volck hadde daer koperen toback pijpen, waer uyt ick vermoede dat daer koper moet zijn, als oock yser naer der Wilden beduydinghe, dan sy en hebben gheen wetenschap om 'tselve te bereyden. De selve ghetuyght mede dat sy op de rievier allerhande rievier-visch met de seghen vanghen, oock jonghe salm ende steur. Op de hooghte van twee-en-veertich graden ende achthien minuten was dito Hudson aen landt; Ick voer (seght hy) met een van haer prauwen aen landt, met een oudt man die daer overste was, van veertich mans ende seventhien vrouwen, die ick daer sagh; in een huys van basten van eyckenboomen wel ghemaeckt, ende rondtomsoo gelijck of het een verwelft

[1] This fact has been doubted. Dr. Mitchell, an American naturalist informed Dr. Miller the New York historian, that no such fish had been seen in Hudson river, as long as he could remember. But this may be caused by the extraordinary movement even then (in 1820) existing in the river's mouth. There is no reasonable ground to doubt that the Hudson was, at the time of its discovery, as rich in salmon as many other North American rivers are now.

beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description. The natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces, and threw them into the fire, etc."

He found there also vines and grapes, pumpkins, and other fruits; from all of which there is sufficient reason

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hadde gheweest, was overvloedigh van Maiz en boonen van 't voorgaende jaer, ende daer lagh by het huys wel soo veel te drooghen, als dry schepen mochten voeren, sonder dat noch stondt en wies; hy het huys komende werden twee matjens ghespreyt om op te sitten, ende terstondt eenighe gherichten voort ghebracht, in roode houten-backen wel ghemaeckt, ende sonden terstondt twee mannen uyt met booghen om wildt te schieten, brochten twee Duyven die sy wel haest gheschooten hadden, sloeghen terstondt oock eenen vetten-hondt, ende kreghen het vel af metter haest met schelpen die sy uyt het water krijghen, meenden dat ick die nacht hy haer blijven soude, dan ginck terstondt weder naer het schip; 'tis het schoonste landt om te bouwen, als ick oyt mijn leven met voeten betradt, ende oock van alderhande boomen; ende is seer goet volck, want doen sy saghen dat ick niet blijven en wilde, meenden dat ick van haer boghen vervaert was, namen de pijlen, braken die aen stucken ende worpen die int vier, etc. Sy vonden daer oock

to conclude, that it is a pleasant and fruitful country, and that the natives are well disposed, if they are only well treated; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the savages in the north.

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wijngaerden ende druyven, pompoenen ende andere vruchten. Wt welckes alles ghenoechsaem is af te nemen dat hat een seer schoon ende vruchtbaer quartier is, ende goet volck, als het maer wel ghehandelt wordt; doch seer veranderlijck, ende van den selven aerdt als alle het volck van die noorder quartieren.

EXTRACTS CONTAINING SOME ORIGINAL INFORMATION ABOUT HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE.

FROM MR. LAMBRECHTSEN VAN RITTHEM'S HISTORY OF NEW NETHERLAND, 8VO., MIDDELBURG, 1818.

(THE EXTRACTS ARE REPRINTED FROM THE TRANSLATION IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE N. Y. HIST. SOC., NEW SERIES, VOL. I, P. 85, FOL.)

I.

THE inclinations of the directors of the East India Company were much at variance upon the proposals of Hudson. The directors of Zealand opposed it; they were probably discouraged by the fruitless results of former voyages, concerning which they could obtain sufficient information from their colleague, Balthasar Moucheron,[1] who long before had traded to the north. It was said they were throwing money away, and nothing else. If private merchants would run the risk they had no objection, provided the company was not injured by it. The Amsterdam directors, nevertheless, would not give up their plan, and sent Henry Hudson, in the same year 1609, with a yacht called the *Half Moon*, manned by sixteen Englishmen and Hollanders, again to sea.

[1] Balthasar de Moucheron was a rich merchant, one of the active emigrants who had left the southern provinces of the Netherlands during the war of independance against Spain. He settled in Zealand, and was the principal promoter of the maritime enterprise by which the young republic rose so fast to a distinguished place among European powers. Moucheron sent on his own account ships to Russia, to America, and to the East Indies. The undertakings alluded to by Lambrechtsen are the three voyages to the North-East, which De Veer has described. Moucheron was the principal instigator of these unsuccessful expeditions. (See Dr. Beke's De Veer, Introduction, p. lii.)

This vessel left the Texel on the 6th of April, 1609, sailing towards the north. Prevented by the ice from reaching the latitude of Nova Zembla, they went to Newfoundland, and from there to Acadia or New France, till they were driven into a bay known only to the French, who arrived there annually to purchase hides and furs from the savages. Hudson, unwilling to approach those chilling shores, returned to sea, and steering south-west discovered land, which was first considered to be an island, but which was soon discovered to be a part of the continent, named Cape Cod.

This industrious navigator felt (although born in England) so sensibly his relation to the Holland East India Company, who had employed him in discoveries, that he could not have hesitated a moment to give the name of his adopted fatherland to this newly discovered country. He called it New Holland. But not wishing to fix his permanent residence on this spot, Hudson preferred the sea, taking a south-west course till he discovered a flat coast in 37° 35′, which he followed in an opposite direction.

At this time he discovered a bay, in which several rivers were emptying, which, no doubt, must have been the South river, afterwards named Delaware. It has a projecting point, which then or afterwards obtained the name of Cape Henlopen, probably from the family name of the first discoverer. Now the bay was again left, and they steered north-east along the coast at 40° 18′, where, between Barndegat and Godinspunt, named thus afterwards in remembrance of him who first discovered this cape,[1] there was a good anchorage, to explore the country, and to open a communication with the inhabitants. But Hudson's curiosity

[1] Godyn was one of the Directors of the Dutch West India Company. The cape was not discovered by him; but received his name because he possessed a large estate in its neighbourhood. Godyns punt is identical with Colman's Point. See p. 80, note 3.

was not so easily satisfied. He went again to sea, following the coast in the same direction till the mouth of a large river was discovered, which then was named by the sailors the North river, and afterwards, in honour of the name of the first discoverer, Hudson's river.

II.

THE voyage was prosperous. But when he approached the English coast a mutiny was stirring among the crew, among which were several Englishmen. They compelled the skipper to enter Dartmouth, from which the rumour of his discoveries ere long reached the capital.

Nothing was more averse from the views of king James than of allowing to the Netherlanders any advantage from transmarine colonies, while he, in imitation of Queen Elizabeth, desired to convert the whole to the profit of his own subjects. Hudson was considered as a person of importance, and he was forbidden to pursue his voyage towards Amsterdam, with the intention, ere long, to make use of his services.

III.

AFTER the ship, the *Half Moon*, had been detained at Dartmouth for some time, it was at length permitted to return to the fatherland, where it arrived in the beginning of the year 1610.

And now did the directors obtain such favourable reports of the countries discovered by Hudson, that in their opinion these were a full compensation for their disappointment in their principal aim, the passage to India by the north.

EXTRACTS CONCERNING HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE (1609), FROM ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK'S BESCHRYVINGE VAN NIEUW NEDERLANDT, 4TO, AMSTERDAM, 1655, 1656.

(THE ORIGINAL PIECES ARE TAKEN FROM THE FIRST PAGES OF THE VOLUME, THE TRANSLATIONS IN GREATER PART FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW SERIES, VOL. I.)

I.

THIS country was first found and discovered in the year of our Lord 1609; when, at the cost of the privileged East India Company, a ship named the *Half Moon* was fitted out to discover a westerly passage to the kingdom of China. This ship was commanded by Henry Hudson, as captain and supercargo, who was an Englishman by birth, but had resided many years in Holland, and was now in the employment of the East India Company. This ship sailed from the Canary Islands,[1] steering a course north by west; and after sailing twenty days with good speed land was

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DIT Lantschap is eerstmael gevonden en ontdeckt in den Jare onses Heeren Jesu Christi 1609. als wanneer ter koste van de Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie af-gevaerdight is het Schip de Halve Maen, om by Westen eenen doorgangh naer het Coningrijck van China te soecken: op dit Schip was Schipper en Coopman eenen Hendrick Hudson, wel een Engelsman geboortig, maer lang onder de Nederlanders verkeert hebbende, ende nu in dienst en maentgelt van de Oost-Indische Compagnie. Dit Schip, van de Canarische Eylanden af t' zeyl gaende, stelde sijne cours West ten Noorden aen, hebbende so by de twintigh etmael met redelijcke

[1] See p. 152, note 1.

discovered, which by their calculation lay 320° by west. On approaching the land, and observing the coast and shore convenient, they landed, and examined the country as well as they could at the time and as opportunity offered.

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spoet gezeylt, ontmoeten landt nae haer gissinge op de drie hondert en twintigh graden by Westen, ende merckende aen verscheyde teeckenen, dat noyt eenigh Christen daer te vooren geweest was, maer dat nu het lant by geval daer eerst ontdeckt werde. Onder het landt dan nader komende, en siende de cust en strant bequaem, begaven haer daer na toe, namen het gesicht en besit daer van soose best konde, naer tijdts gelegentheydt.

II.

THE country having been first found or discovered by the Netherlanders, and keeping in view the discovery of the same it is named the New Netherlands. That this country was first found or discovered by the Netherlanders, is evident and clear from the fact that the Indians or natives of the land, many of whom are still living, and with whom I have conversed, declare freely, that before the arrival of the Dutch ship, the *Half Moon*, in the year 1609, they (the natives) did not know that there were any other people in

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Soo is dan oock Nieuw Nederlandt, als eerst van Nederlanders gevonden zijnde, mede ten aensien, de vindinge also genaemt. Dat dit Lant eerst van Nederlanders gevonden is, blijckt mede klaer daer uyt, dat de Indianen ofte Inboorlinghen die der noch veel in 't leven zijn, ende wy dickwils en verscheyden hebben hooren spreken, soo oudt datse daer van heugen, ront uyt verklären, dat voor het aenkomen van ons Neerlants schip de Halve Maen, in 't Jaer 1609. sy Inboorlingen niet wisten datter meer menschen in de werelt waren, als daer van haers ghelijck ontrent haer, veel min

the world than those who were like themselves, much less any people who differed so much in appearance from them as we did.

Their men were without hair on the breasts or about the mouth, like women, whilst our men are hairy; they were without clothing and mostly naked, especially in summer, while we are always clothed and covered. When some of them first saw our ship approaching at a distance, they did not know what to think about her, but stood in deep and solemn amazement, wondering whether it were a ghost or apparition coming down from heaven or hell. Others of them supposed her to be a strange fish or sea monster. When they discovered men on board, they looked upon them rather as devils than human beings. Thus they differed about the ship and men. A strange report was also spread about the country concerning our ship and visit, which created great astonishment and surprise amongst the Indians. These things we have frequently heard them declare, and we regard them as certain proofs that the Netherlanders were the first finders

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menschen so veer van haer slach en fatsoen verschillende als hare en onse Natie, zijnde hare Natie op de borst ende omtrendt den mont gantsch kael, ende den Vrouwen ghelijckt, de onse heel hayrigh, sy onghekleet, ende meest ontdekt, voornemelijck des Zomers, en wy altijt gekleet en bedekt, so dat doen sommige van haer, ons Schip van verre eerst sagen aenkomen, al heel niet wisten wat daer van te oordelen, ende in swaer beduchten stonden, of het oock spoock of diergelijcke werck was, dan of het uyt den Hemel of uyt de Hel mochte komen, andere meenden of het wel een seltsame Vis ofte Zee-monster soude moghen wesen, ende of die gene die daer op waren, beter nae Duyvels of nae Menschen geleken, ende soo voorts gelijck yder sijn verscheyden gevoelen heeft: altijt daer liep een heel vreemt gerucht van door het lant, ende 't gaf groote versslagentheydt by alle de Indianen, ghelijck my dickwils verscheyden Indianen getuyght hebben, dies wy het oock voor een seker bewijs houden, dat de Neerlanders de eerste

or discoverers and possessors of the New Netherlands. There are Indians in the country whose memory carries them back a hundred years,[1] and if there had been any other people here before us they would have known something of them, and if they had not seen them themselves they would have heard an account of them from others. There are persons who believe that the Spaniards have been here many years ago, when they found the climate too cold to their liking, and again left the country; and that the maize or Turkish corn, and beans found among the Indians, were left with them by the Spaniards.[2] This opinion or belief is improbable, as

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vinders en besitters van Nieuw Nederlant zijn, want daer zijn Wilden die over de hondert Jaren heughen, ende soo der noch eenigh volck voor d'onse geweest waren, daer van souden sy al yetwes weten te seggen, soo sy 't selfs niet gesien hadden, souden ten minsten van haer Voor-ouders gehoort hebben. Daer zijn cook luyden die meenen dat over veele Jaren de Spangiaerts in dit lant geweest zijn, maer het voor haer wat te kout bevindende, weder verlaten hebben, en dat de boontjes en Turksche tarwe of Mayes,

[1] The character and purpose of Van der Donck's book is explained in the introduction to the present volume. He was anxious to prove that New Netherland (a vast tract of land, of which the States of New York and Pennsylvania form the principal part) belonged by right of discovery to the Dutch. Being by profession a lawyer, he is not very scrupulous in his special pleading. The argument drawn from the memory of the Indians must elicit a smile in any one acquainted with them. They have no means of measuring past time, they do not even know their own ages, and are therefore themselves quite unable to ascertain how far their memory carries them back.

[2] Notwithstanding Van der Donck's assertions to the contrary, the whole coast of New Netherland was undoubtedly known to the Spaniards. The first of their vessels that visited these shores was commanded by the Portuguese Estevan Gomez, who seems to have spent part of the spring and summer of the year 1525 in exploring them. Their ships frequently visited them afterwards, and gave names to the rivers and islands. Hudson's river was called by them *Rio de Gamas* (Roe river). This matter is explained at some length in the introduction to the present volume.

we can discover nothing of the kind from the Indians. They say that their corn and beans were received from the southern Indians, who received their seed from a people who resided still farther south, which may well be true, as the Castilians have long since resided in Florida. The maize may have been among the Indians in the warm climate long ago; however, our Indians say that they did eat roots and the bark of trees instead of bread, before the introduction of Indian corn or maize.

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daer van onder de Wilden ghebleven soude zijn, maer 't is niet waerschijnelijck, heb het oock noyt van de Wilden konnen vernemen, ende de boontjes met het coorn, seggense haer van de zuydtse Wilden wel eertijts overgeleverte zijn, die het oock voor een tijt, noch al vry veel zuydelijcker van menschen die daer woonen, bekomen hadden, dat wel waer kan wesen: Want in Florida hebben al over langh Castilianen gewoont, ofte misschien is de Mayes oock wel eerder in die warme landen onder de Indianen geweest, maer onse Wilden seggen, datse van te vooren, eerse van de Mayes wisten, basten van boomen, en wortelen in plaetse van broot aten.

III.

When this country was, in 1609, first found by the Dutch, they learned from the natives that no Christians had been there before; and considering themselves as the first discoverers they took possession in the name of their High Mightinesses the States General; first along the South Bay,

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Doen dan eerstmael in het Jaer 1609 by de Neerlanders dit landt op-ghedaen werdt, ende aen de Inboorlinghen bemerckende, dat sy aldaer de eerste Christenen ende Vinders waren, namen sy op den naem ende van weghen hare Ho. Mog. mijn Heeren de Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden possessie, eerst by de Suytbay aen Caep Hinloopen, die sy doenmael soo noemden, ghelijck

near the cape, which they then called Cape Hinlopen,[1] the name it still bears. Thence they sailed along the coast, giving various names to rivers and places, till into the great north river, which they sailed far up. The English on this account call it Hudson's river. The first discoverers called it *Mauritius*[2] river, after Prince Maurice, who was then Statholder. Thence they sailed to Cape Cod, where they took possession, calling it *New Holland.*[3]

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sy den selven naem noch heeft, ende voeren so al voort langhs de custe, ende op de Rivieren de plaetsen verscheyde benaminge gevende tot aen de groote Noort-rivier, die sy ver op voeren, soo datse de Engelsche noch sommighe Hutsons Rivier, willen noemen, maer sy noemdense doen Mauritius Rivier, naer Prins Mauritis, die doenmael in Nederlandt Gouverneur was; van daer voerense voort tot voorby Caep Codt, daerse oock possessie namen, ende noemden de selve Nieuw Hollandt.

[1] This taking possession is an invention of Van der Donck. They never landed near Cape Hinlopen. (See Juet, pp. 73 to 75; De Laet, pp. 154, 155.)

[2] This is also an invention of Van der Donck. The name was given several years afterwards.

[3] This is quite incorrect. They sailed straight home without even seeing land. Hudson touched the coast near Cape Cod *before* he explored Hudson river.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE THIRD VOYAGE (1609).

I.

THE TRADITION ABOUT THE FIRST LANDING OF HENRY HUDSON ON THE SHORES OF NEW YORK DURING HIS THIRD VOYAGE.

(FROM YATES AND MOULTON'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK, I, P. 210.)

ACCORDING to tradition they first landed in Coney Island, opposite Gravesend (Long Island), and now a part of King's County, in this state.

II.

THE TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS CONCERNING HUDSON'S FIRST INTERCOURSE WITH THEM, AS PRESERVED BY THE REV. J. HECKEWELDER.

(FROM NEW YORK HIST. SOCIETY, COLLECTIONS, NEW SERIES, VOL. I.)

THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTORY NOTE, AS WELL AS THE EXPLANATORY FOOT NOTES, ARE FROM THE N. Y. H. S. COLLECTIONS.

NOTE.

THE following paper is derived from the manuscripts deposited among the collections of the Society by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., to whom it was communicated by the Rev. John Heckewelder, for many years a Moravian missionary to the Indians of Pennsylvania. In a letter accompanying it, dated at Bethlehem, Jan. 26th, 1801, Mr. Heckewelder says: "As I receive my information from Indians, in their language and style, I return it in the same way. Facts are all I aim at, and from my knowledge of the Indians, I do not believe every one's story. The enclosed account is, I believe, as authentic as anything of the kind can be obtained."

A voluminous correspondence of Mr. Heckewelder with Mr. Du Pon-

ceau, concerning the languages of the Indians, together with an account of the history, manners, and general character of the native tribes, derived from personal observation, was published by the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, 1819. This paper, in a somewhat altered, perhaps improved, form in respect to his phraseology, was comprehended in that publication; but as the original draft is more likely to convey accurately the language and style of Mr. Heckewelder's Indian informants, there seems to be a manifest propriety in adopting it for publication in the present collection.

THE following account of the first arrival of Europeans at New-York Island, is verbatim as it was related to me by aged and respected Delawares, Momeys and Mahicanni (otherwise called Mohigans, Mahicandus), near forty years ago. It is copied from notes and manuscripts taken on the spot. They say:

A long time ago, when there was no such thing known to the Indians as people with a white skin (their expression), some Indians who had been out a-fishing, and where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large swimming or floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. They immediately returning to the shore apprised their countrymen of what they had seen, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. These together hurried out, and saw to their great surprise the phenomenon, but could not agree what it might be; some concluding it either to be an uncommon large fish or other animal, while others were of opinion it must be some very large house. It was at length agreed among those who were spectators, that as this phenomenon moved towards the land, whether or not it was an animal, or anything that had life in it, it would be well to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly, they sent runners and watermen off to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that these might send off in every direction for the warriors to come in. These arriving in numbers, and themselves

viewing the strange appearance, and that it was actually moving towards them (the entrance of the river or bay), concluded it to be a large canoe or house, in which the Mannitto (great or supreme being) himself was, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs of the different tribes were assembled on York Island, and were deliberating on the manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every step had been taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice; the women were required to prepare the best of victuals; idols or images were examined and put in order; and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Mannitto, but might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute towards appeasing him, in case he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work, to determine what the meaning of this phenomenon was, and what the result would be. Both to these, and to the chiefs and wise men of the nation, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it a house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It now appears to be certain that it is the great Mannitto bringing them some kind of game, such as they had not before; but other runners soon after arriving, declare it a large house of various colours, full of people, yet of quite a different colour than they (the Indians) are of; that they were also dressed in a different manner from them, and that one in particular appeared altogether red, which must be the Mannitto himself. They are soon hailed from the vessel, though in a language they do not understand; yet they shout (or yell) in their way. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitors, who could find them out, and might destroy them. The house (or large canoe, as some will have it)

stops, and a smaller canoe comes ashore with the red man and some others in it; some stay by this canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men (or councillors) have composed a large circle, unto which the red-clothed man with two others approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration, both as to the colour of the skin (of these whites) as also to their manner of dress, yet most as to the habit of him who wore the red clothes, which shone with something they could not account for.[1] He must be the great Mannitto (supreme being) they think, but why should he have a white skin?[2] A large hockhack[3] is brought forward by one of the (supposed) Mannitto's servants, and from this a substance is poured out into a small cup (or glass) and handed to the Mannitto. The (expected) Mannitto drinks; has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief next to him to drink. The chief receives the glass, but only smelleth at it, and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without the contents being tasted by any one; and is upon the point of being returned again to the red-clothed man, when one of their number, a spirited man and great warrior, jumps up, harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed them by the Mannitto in order that they should drink it, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him; but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by him. And that since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drank, and as no one was willing to drink it he would, let the consequence be what it would; and that it was better for one man to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then

[1] Lace.
[2] Their own expression.
[3] Their word for gourd, bottle, decanter, etc.

took the glass and bidding the assembly a farewell, drank it off. Every eye was fixed on their resolute companion to see what an effect this would have upon him, and he soon beginning to stagger about, and at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, jumps up, and declares that he never felt himself before so happy as after he had drank the cup. Wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated.[1]

After this general intoxication had ceased (during which time the whites had confined themselves to their vessel), the man with the red clothes returned again to them, and distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, etc. They say that they had become familiar to each other, and were made to understand by signs, that they now would return home, but would visit them next year again, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them to sow seeds in order to raise herbs to put in their broth.

[1] The Delawares calls this place (New York Island) Mannahattanink or Mannahacktanink to this day. They have frequently told me that it derived its name from the general intoxication, and that the word comprehended the same as to say the island or place of general intoxication.

The Mahicanni (otherwise called Mohiggans by the English, and Mahicandus by the Low Dutch) call this place by the same name as the Delawares do: yet think it is owing or given in consequence of a kind of wood which grew there, and of which the Indians used to make their bows and arrows. This wood the latter (Mohicanni) call "gawaak."

The universal name the Monseys have for New York is Laaphawackking, which is interpreted, the place of stringing beads (wampum). They say this name was given in consequence of beads being here distributed among them by the Europeans; and that after the European vessel had returned, wherever one looked, one would see the Indians employed in stringing the beads or wampum the whites had given them.

That the vessel arrived the season following, and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other; but that the whites laughed at them (the Indians) seeing they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, etc., they had given them, they having had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments; and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles (or helves) in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here (say they) a general laughter ensued among them (the Indians), that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements; and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for a Manitto, yet inferior and attendant to the supreme Manitto, to wit, to the one which wore the red and laced clothes. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover (or encompass), which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time this hide was cut up, there was a great heap. That this rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought round again, so that both ends might meet. That they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of ground. That they (the Indians) were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough. That they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although these asked from time to time more land of them; and proceeding higher up the Mahicanittuk (Hudson river), they believed they would soon

want all their country, and which at this time was already the case.

[HERE ENDS THIS RELATION.[1]]

III.

THE SAME TRADITION CONFIRMED BY DR. BARTON.

(FROM TATES AND MOULTON'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK, P. 257.)

MR. HECKEWELDER received the tradition about sixty-five years ago, and took it down verbatim, as it was related to him by aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni. Dr. Barton says the story is told in the same way by all the Indians of the tribes of Delawares, the "Monces," and Mohiccans; and in relating the incidents, they laugh at their own ignorance. But what still further shows (says Dr. B.) that considerable dependence may be placed upon the tradition is this, that to this day the Delawares, the Monseys, and Mohiccans call New York Manahachtanienks, that is, the place at which we were drunk, being the name they bestowed on the place immediately after the incident related.

[1] At the head of this article there is a typographical error in the name of a tribe of Indians—Momeys should be Monseys, often written Minsis. For an exact account of this and other Delaware nations, see Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, a work of extraordinary ability, contained in *Transactions* of American Antiquarian Society, vol. ii, p. 44, etc.

AN EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN LUKE FOX'S DESCRIPTION OF HUDSON'S FOURTH VOYAGE.

(NORTH-WEST, FOX, P. 70.)

In the road of Lee, in the river Thames, he caused Master Coolbrand[1] to be set in a pinke to be carried backe again to London. This Coolbrand was every way held to be a better man than himselfe, being put in by the adventurers as his assistant, who envying the same (he having the command in his own hands) devised this course, to send himselfe the same way, though in a farre worse place, as hereafter followeth.

[1] Hudson (p. 93) calls him Colburne; Pricket (p. 98) calls him Colbert. Hudson's version of the name, the only one that forms part of a logbook written during the voyage, is most probably the correct one.

HESSEL GERRITZ'S VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF HUDSON'S TWO LAST VOYAGES.

FROM THE LATIN AND DUTCH EDITIONS OF THE DESCRIPTIO ET DELINEATIO GEOGRAPHICA DETECTIONIS FRETI AB H. HUDSONO INVENTI.

4TO., AMSTERDAM, 1612, 1613.

THE following accounts are all due to the same hand; they even form part of the different editions of the same work; and the natural supposition would therefore be, that they must be repetitions of each other. This is, indeed, in a small degree, the case. But the variations between them are very great and very curious; showing, as they do, the uncertainty of Gerritz's information, and how it was gradually corrected. It has, therefore, seemed advisable to reprint them all.

I.

HUDSON'S FOURTH VOYAGE,

A SUMMARY PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THE CHART.

An Account of the Voyage and New Found Strait of Mr. Hudson.

MR. HUDSON, who has been repeatedly engaged in the search of a western passage, long intended to undertake an expedition for this same purpose through Lumley's Inlet, a channel leading out of Davis's Strait; as we ourselves have seen pointed out on his map, which is in Mr. Plancius' hands. He hoped thus to reach the Pacific by the west of

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MR. HUDSON die ettelijcke malen Westwaerts een doorgaagh ghesocht heeft, had zijn oogh-merck om door Lumbleys inlet in Fretum Davis in een doorgaende Zee te comen, ghelijck wy sulcx in zijn Caerte by Mr. Plantius gesien hebben-eñ by westen Nova Albion in Mar del Zur te loopé, daer een Enghels man, soo hy ghecteeckent had, door ghepasseert was. Maer nae veel mocytens

Nova Albion,[1] where another Englishman had, according to his drawings, passed through. Hudson found after many labours the way represented on our map, and he was only prevented from following it further up, by the resistance of his crew. This mutiny took place under the following circumstances. They had been absent from home about ten months, being provisioned only for eight, and during their whole voyage they had met but a single man, who brought them an animal which they ate; but having been badly treated, the man never returned. Having thus left the latitude of 52°, where they had wintered, and having sailed up to 60°, along the western shore of their bay, they fell in with a wide sea and with a great flood from the north-west. The commanders intended to proceed further. The crew then rose against him, and put all the officers out of the ship into a boat, and sailed home to England. For this

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heeft hy dese wech, die hier op dees Caerte gheteeckent staet, gevonden, die hy vervolcht soude hebben, hadde 't ghemeen Scheepsvolck niet soo onwillich gheweest: want also sy wel 10 maendē uytgeweest hadden, daerse nochtans maer voor 8 maenden gevictalieert waren, ende op de heele wech maer een man ghesien hebben, die haer een groot Dier brocht dat sy aten; die, om dat hy qualijck ghetracteert wiert, niet weer en quam, soo isset gemeen Scheeps-volck (als sy weder vande hoochte van 52 gr. daer sy verwinterden, tot op de hoochte van 60 grad. langhs de Westzyde vande Báye, daer sy in geloopen waren), op-gheclommen, daer sy een ruyme Zee ende groote baren uyten Noordwesten vernamen, endelick tegens haer Meesters op gestaen, die vorder voort wilden, ende hebben d' Overheyt altesamen in een Sloep ofte schuyt buyten scheeps gheset, ende zijn alsoo met het Schip nat Enggelant geseylt: Hierom zijn sy, als sy t' huys qua-

[1] Nova Albion is a vague term embracing all the possessions of the English in North America. The geographical notions involved in this passage and in the rest of Gerritz's various accounts will be discussed in the introduction.

cause they have, on their arrival at home, all been put in prison; and in the course of the present summer (1612) some ships have again been sent to those regions by order of the king and of the Prince of Wales,[1] to discover a passage and to look for Mr. Hudson and his companions. These have received orders that, in case the passage be found, two of them shall pass through it, the third shall be sent home with the news, which we are expecting.

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men, altesamen in prison gheset, ende dese Somer zijnder op nieus schepē ter ordonnantie van den Coningh ende den Prince van Wallis derwaerts ghesonden, om de doorgangh verder t' ontdecken, ende Mr. Hudson met den synen op te soecken: welcke schepen bevel hebben om met hun tween, als de passagie ghevonden sal zijn, door te passeren, ende een t' huyste senden met de tydinghe die wy verwachten.

II.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES,

FROM THE PROLEGOMENA TO THE FIRST LATIN EDITION.

But as even after these voyages of William Barentz[2] the English had repeatedly tried that northern way, the Directors of the East India Company resolved three years ago to

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Quoniam vero etiam post navigationes prædictas Guilelmi Bernardi, viam illam aquilonarem aliquoties Angli adhuc tentaverant, visum fuit ante triennium D.D. Indicæ navigationis præfectis eo

[1] Henry, Prince of Wales, a young man of great promise, who died in November, 1612.

[2] The preceding passages of the Prolegomena, or Preface to Hessel Gerritz's work, contain a short account of Barentz's voyages to the North-east in search of a short way to China. The members of the Hakluyt Society possess Dr. Beke's excellent edition of De Veer's description of these voyages.

send there a certain Mr. Hudson, an Englishman. He, having found no way to the east, but, instead of it, the ocean almost entirely obstructed by ice, went to the west and returned without any profit to England. He was then sent out again by the English, and his voyage was far more prosperous, but his own fortune far worse. For, having after many labours passed beyond the Terra de Baccalaos[1] for about three hundred miles[2] to the west, and having wintered there in latitude 52°, and being sure to be able to go still farther; then, not only he himself, but all his officers were put into a boat by their mutinous crew and left to drift on the waves. The sailors returned home without delay. We have added his geographical observations to the present book. We expect more certain news by the ships which have already been sent there; and even the much desired report that they will have passed through the strait. These ships will thus obtain eternal fame and glory...

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mittere quendam M. Hudsonum Anglum, qui cum nullam ad Ortum viam, sed ejus vicem Oceanum invenesset glacie prorsus obstructum, ad Occasum deflexit, unde sine ullo profectu in Angliam appulit. Emissus autem de novo ab Anglis, cursu quidem longo prosperiore, at deteriore tamen successu usus est; cum enim post varios labores ultra Terram de Baccalaos 300 circiter milliaria Occasum versus emensus esset, inibique ad altitudinem graduum 52 jam hibernasset, et ulterius tendere certus esset, ecce non tantum ipse, sed omnis eius Senatus (ut sic dixerim) nauticus scaphæ ab importunis nautis impositus et in undas demissus, ipsi sine mora domum reversi sunt. Nos vero notas ejus ad calcem hujus libelli adjunximus, certiora per naves eo jam missas, imo optatum de Freto pervio nuntium expectantes. Quæ naves hoc ipso æternam sibi famam paraturæ sunt.

[1] Terra de Baccalaos, or Codfish land, is a vague term, embracing most of the codfish stations north of 49°. On the old maps the name is generally written in latitude 55° or 56°. For the origin and history of the term, see the introduction to the present volume.

[2] Probably German miles. The other accounts have *leucas* (leagues).

These news of Hudson's recently found passage to the north of Newfoundland and the hope of a strait, are confirmed by the testimony of the Virginian and Floridan savages, who all state most distinctly that their country is washed on its south-western side by a vast ocean, in which they have seen ships similar to those of the English.

Confirmatur hæc nuper inventi ab Hudsono supra Terram Novam transitus sive Freti spes, Virginiarum Floridanorumque concordibus testimoniis, diserte adfirmantium, terras suas ab occasu æstivo vasto Oceano, in quo et naves Anglicanarum similes viderunt.

III.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES,

FROM THE LATIN EDITION OF 1612.

An account of the Discovery of the North-western Passage, which is expected to lead to China and Japan, by the North of the American Continent, found by Mr. H. Hudson, an Englishman.

THE English nation, encouraged by previous success, have grown bolder and bolder in their naval enterprise. Thus, besides their frequent voyages to the east, to Nova Zembla and to Spitzbergen,[1] they have made almost uninterrupted efforts to discover a western passage or strait to China and

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FELICISSIMÆ Anglicæ gentis expeditiones maritimæ, et prosperrimi quibus in ijs usi successus, eos ad rariores quoque profectiones tentandas magis magisque extimularunt: nam præter crebra suorum ad Ortum et Novam Zemlam Grœlandiamq. itinera, perpetuo fere laborarunt in investigando ad Occidentem, Chinam

[1] Gerritz has *Groenlandiam*. The curious history of this name and of the geographical ideas and discoveries connected with it, will be found in the introduction to the present volume.

Japan. They expected that sailing by this road they would have on their left the North American shores, where they have founded their Virginian colony.

Several of those who set out in search of that passage entered Davis's Straits. Their example was followed by Captain George Winwood,[1] who sailed in 1602 nearly five hundred English miles up that strait, but was then forced by the ice to return. He now attempted to find the desired passage by exploring the narrows under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet. But having sailed a hundred leagues into them he again turned back, partly on account of the sufferings which the great length of the voyage produced among his crew, partly because he desired to explore two more bays, situated between Lumley's Inlet and Baccalaos, whence the sea was streaming out with great might. These facts are stated in his logbooks, which Mr. Peter Plancius, a diligent investigator of such matters, communicated to Mr. H. Hudson during his stay in Amsterdam in 1609, when Hudson was going to undertake a search for a

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atque Japonem versus, transitu, sive freto, idque relicto ad lævam septentrionali America littore, occupata jam illic et colonijs suis insessa Virginia. Viam vero, quam eorum plærique in freto hoc indagando ingressi sunt, secutus est annos 1602 Capitaneus quoque Georgius Winwood, qui quingentas ferè Anglicas leucas in Freto Davis sursum decorsum vagarus, et præ glacie tandem coactus retrogredi, tentavit num per sinum illum, quem Angli Lumles Inlet appellant, sub gradibus uno et sexaginta positum, invenire forte posset optatam viam, sed centum in eo leucas Hypafircum versus progressus, pedem et hinc quoque retulit, tum quod diuturna itineris molestia nauticum vulgus esset attritum, tum quod statuisset lustrare et alios duos sinus inter Lumles Inlet et Bæccalaos, unde exeuntem vidisset ingentem fluxum pro ut constat ejus Ephemeridibus, quas M. Petrus Plancius, curiosissimus talium novitatum investigator, tradidit M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo,

[1] George Weymouth. The mistake is corrected in the later editions.

passage to the north of Nova Zembla for the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He did set out, but achieved nothing in the east; he sailed therefore straight westward, to attempt again the way searched out and drawn by Captain Winwood; which way, after passing for about a hundred leagues through a narrow channel, leads out into a wide sea. Hudson hoped to find a way through this sea, though Plancius had proved to him the impossibility of success, from the accounts of a man who had reached the western shore of that sea. Hudson achieved in 1609 nothing memorable, even by this new way. But he was again sent out in 1610 by his own countrymen. He now followed the way through Lumley's Inlet pointed out to him by Winwood's papers. Having passed under many labours through the strait, he reached the latitude of 52°, where he wintered. Here he fell in, for the first time during the voyage, with one of the natives of the country. This Indian brought some merchandise, and was armed with a Mexican or Japa-

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Amsterodami per id tempus, anno videlicet 1609, agenti, et Indicæ navigationis præfectis, in quærendo supra Novam Zemlam transitu, operam impensuro, qui et ipse cum ad Ortum nil profecisset, ad occasum recta deflexit, denuo tentaturus illum a Capitaneo Winwood quæsitum delineatumque meatum, post centum plus minus leucarum angustias, in amplum tandem pelagus desinentem, quod ipsum mare hic noster Hudsonus speraverat fore perivium, licet contrarium ei, ex relatione cujusdam, qui occidentale maris ipsius littus adnavigaverat, idem Plancius ostendisset.

Hudsonus, cum ne hoc quidem itinere quidquam memoria dignum gessisset, anno proxime insecuto 1610, a popularibus suis rursus emissus est, et secutus illum in Lumles Inlet sibi a Georgio Winwood ex parte calcatum tramitem, post multas tandem molestias fretum hoc superavit, et ad gradus 50, et 51, progressus est. Ubi et hibernavit, atque hic demum, cum alioqui nullos toto itinere obvios usquam et nescio quid præterea adferret in commeatum crisso Mexicano seu Japonensi accinctus. Unde se non

nese *cris*;[1] from which circumstances Hudson concluded that he was not far from Mexico. The native, however, not being well treated, never afterwards returned. The English thus lost this only chance of adding to their victuals, and being provided for eight months only, they left the harbour they had entered and sailed along the western shore of the bay till up to 62° or 63° north. Here they found a wide sea and more powerful tides from the north-west, which Hudson and the officers intended to examine further. But the crew, who had already been two months longer from home than their provisions had been intended for, rose against their commanders, and exposed Hudson and his friends in a boat in the open air. The crew then returned by the way they had come and reached their home in September 1611, where they were thrown into prison. They are going to be kept prisoners till their captain will have been found. In search of him three ships have been sent out this summer (1612) by the Prince of Wales and

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procul a terris Mexicanis abesse noster illico suspicatus est. Vir autem ille, parum comiter tunc exceptus, nunquam-postea redijt. Quare Angli, cum præter octimestrem illum, quem secum advexerant commeatum, nihil aliunde nanciscerentur, e sinu, quem erant ingressi, occidentale legentes littus, septemtrionem versus excurrerunt ad gradus 62, et 63, ubi et mare invenerunt late diffusum, et grandiores ab Cauro impulsos fluctos, quæ Hudsono quidem et senatui nautico animus erat ulterius indagandi; sed refragantes navales socij, quod bimestri jam spatio, ultra quam de annona prospectum esser, domo abfuissent, insurrexere tandem in suos præfectos, atque Hudsonum una cum suis scapha exposuerunt in mare: ipsi verô qua venerant navi, anno 1611 Septembri mense, domum reversi sunt, ubi in carcerem hac de caussa compacti, tantisper asservantur, dum inveniatur Præfectus, quem requirere jussæ sunt tres ille naves, quas emiserunt hac ipsa æstate

[1] Thus the Mexicans call their flame-shaped poniards. (Gerritz's notes.)

some merchants. They are to explore the passage throughout, and when they have found the open ocean, one of them is to return with the desired news. This ship is daily expected home.

Ser^sim^. VVallæ Princeps et mercatores, transitum planē perlustraturas, ac pernavigaturas, quarum uni injunctum, ut detecto ad plenū meatu recurrat, nuntium illud tam diu desideratum feliciter allatura, quod in horas nunc expectatur.

IV.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGE,

FROM THE SECOND LATIN EDITION (1613).

WITH NOTES INDICATING THE VARIATIONS OF THE DUTCH EDITION.

A Description and Chart of the Discovery of the Strait or Passage by the north of the American continent to China and Japan.

THE English, stimulated by the happy success of their maritime enterprise, undergo without hesitation the troubles which these expeditions involve; and in spite of the laborious nature of their voyages to the east, to Moscovia, Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, they are still bent on new discoveries. They have chiefly made uninterrupted efforts to find a passage in the west, where they have already occupied Virginia and peopled it with their colonists. This

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FELICISSIMÆ Anglorum navigationes, et prosperrimi, earum successus, magis ac magis isti genti stimulum addiderunt, ut facile omnia tædia devorarint et novas detectiones susceperint, quæ licet laboriosissimæ fuerint in Orientem ad ora Moscoviæ, Novæ Zemlæ et Grœnlandiæ, nihilominus desudarunt in partibus Occidentalibus (occupatā jam etiam illic, et colonijs suis insessa Virginia) ut sibi

passage they have sought for between Greenland and Nova Francia. Their efforts have as yet been fruitless, and through ice and snow they have in vain fought their way up to 70° or even 80° of northern latitude. The strait which they have thus explored bears the name of its first discoverer, John Davis. The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Weymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced by the ice to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a south-westerly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself landlocked, and despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and by other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides.

This voyage, though far from fulfilling Weymouth's hopes,

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transitum, intra Grœnlandiam, et Novam Franciam quærerent sed frustra hactenus, seducti via in Septemtrionem obducta nivibus et glacie, elaboratum est, usque ad altitudinem septuaginta, aut octaginta graduum, nomenque traxit fretum ab inventore primo Joanne Davis, postremus qui idem iter instituit, præfectus fuit Georgius Weymouth, qui anno millesimo sexcentesimo secundo quingentas leucas navigando emensus est, sed glacici copiâ coactus est, ut et alij antecessores, in patriam redire. Sedne irritus plane esset conatus, navigans denuo, ad altitudinem sexaginta et unius gradus, per sinum quem Angli Lumles Inlet dicunt, ibi ob occidente in meridiem deflectens centum leucas, postea objectu terræ, transitum non inveniens, imbecillitate sociorum, alijsque de causis, coactus est reverti nihilominus et duos alios sinus lustravit, non sine maxima aquarum copia maris instar, et maximo fluxu et refluxu, intra terram hanc, et eam quam Baccalaos appellant.

assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Weymouth's logbooks fell into the hands of the Rev. Peter Plancius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when in 1609 Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the Directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plancius. Out of them he learnt this whole voyage of George Weymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India. But Peter Plancius refuted this latter opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He seems, however, accord-

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Hæc navigatio licet tum temporis, votis, non responderit, tamen diaria Georgij Weymouth (quæ inciderunt in manus D. P. Plantij curiosissimi rerum novarum investigatoris, in usum patriæ hujus reique nauticæ) usui fuerunt maximo, H. Hudsoni, in investigatione hujus famosissimi freti, cum enim anno millesimo sexcentesimo et nono, ille ageret cum Præfectis Indicæ navigationis, de via inquirenda in Chinam et Cathayam, supra Novam Zemlam, hæc à D. P. Plantio impetravit Diaria, ex quibus totū istud iter Georgij Weymouth per angustius supra Virginiam didicit, usque ad Oceanum qui eam alluit, hinc ista opinio invaluit, hac viâ solâ patere aditum ad Indos; sed quam fallax sit, docuit illum D. P. Plantius, ex relatu cujusdam, qui in parte Occidentali, terram esse continentem asseverarat, eamque lustrarat. Hudsonus nihilominus in Oriente, et Novâ Zemlâ, viam sibi à glacie, nivibus, præclusam videns, in Occidentem navigavit, ut quid spei superesset inquireret; non recto itinere (ut hic fertur) ut patriæ huic nostræ, et præfectis

ing to the opinion of our countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the Directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609 was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis's Strait. There he entered in latitude 61° the path pointed out by George Weymouth, and explored all the shores laid down in the present chart,[1] up to the height of 63°. He then sailed to the south, down to 54°,[2] where he wintered. When he left his winter quarters he ran along the western shore for forty leagues, and fell in, under 60°, with a wide sea, agitated by mighty tides from the north-west. This circumstance inspired Hudson with great hope

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prodesset, tantum in Nova Francia mercibus suis commutatis, pro pellibus, salvus in Angliam reversus est, ibique accusatus in detrimentum Patriæ Angliæ navigationes suas instituisse. Iterum iter succepit, non minori studio de transitu investigando in Occidente, tendens in Fretum Davis, anno millesimo sexcentesimo e decimo, usque ad altitudinem unius et sexaginta graduum, ingressus semitam Georgij Weymouth, omnes oras lustravit, hac in tabula delineatas, usque ad gradus sexaginta tres, deflexit in Meridiem usque ad gradus quinquaginta quatuor, sub ijs hybernavit, solvens istinc littus Occidentale legēs, ascendit usque ad gradum sexagesimū, recta navigans, quadraginta leucas, amplū pelagus deprehēdit, fluctibus ā Cauro agitatis superbiens: Ex his non exigua spes transeundi Hudsono affulsit, nec voluntas senatui nautico defuit, sed fastidium, et malevolentia sociorum scrupulum injicere, ob victus inopiam, cum ijs tātum in octo menses prospectum esset, nihilque toto itinere alimento dignum in manus eorum incideret,

[1] *His* Chart (*Zyne Caerte*), according to the Dutch edition.
[2] 52 degrees (52 *ste. graed*) Dutch edition.

of finding a passage, and his officers were quite ready to undertake a further search; but the crew, weary of the long voyage, and unwilling to continue it, bethought themselves of the want of victuals, with which they had been provided for eight months only, and to which no additions had been made during the voyage, except one large animal which an Indian brought. This Indian was armed with a Mexican or Japonese *cris* (poniard), from which fact Hudson concluded that a place which possessed Mexican arms and productions could not be far distant from that country.[1] At last the ill will of the crew prevailed. They exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the open sea, and returned into their country. There they have been thrown into prison for their crime, and will be kept there until their captain shall be safely brought home.[2] For that purpose some ships have been

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nisi forti Indus quidam, qui Crissio Mexicano, seu Japonensi armatus, feram attulit, ex quo Hudsonus conjiciebat, se non longe a Mexicanis abesse, quorum arma, et commercia videret. Tandem prævaluit sociorum malevolentia, qui Hudsonum, cum reliquis præfectis scaphâ exposuerunt in mare, ipsi patriam petiere, quam cum appulissent, ob scelus commissum in carceres detrusi sunt, ibique detinentur, donec præfectus eorum Hudsonus salvus suis restituatur, ab ijs, quibus id negotij superiori anno millesimo sexcen-

[1] Wherefrom it appears that the people of that country have some communication with those along the Pacific Ocean. (*Daer wt dattet schijnt die natie daer te lande ghemeenschap te hebben met die aen de Zuyder Zee.*) Dutch edition.

[2] The Dutch edition, published several months *before* the Latin, has from this point an entirely different termination: "He is being searched for by the ships which have been sent out this summer by the merchants and by the Prince of Wales, who is said to assist them. These ships are not expected to return before they will have been in Mare del Zur. We wish them good luck." (*Die ghesocht wort van de scheepens die dese somer derwaert gesonden zijn van de Coopluyden ende van den Prince van Wallis die daer de hand aen hout, soo gheseyt wort, Welcke scheepens men meent niet te sullen weder komen eer sy al heel sullen tot in Mar del Zur geweest hebben, daer wy haer gheluck toe wenschen.*)

sent out last year (1612) by the late Prince of Wales[1] and by the Directors of the Moscovia Company, about the return of which nothing has as yet been heard. We may therefore hope that they have passed beyond that strait, and we do not think that we shall hear anything about them before they return to England from East India or China and Japan, by the same road by which they went out. This, we hope and pray, may come to pass. Nor has the zeal of our fellow citizens of Amsterdam cooled down. They have some months ago sent out a ship, to search for a passage or for Hudson's Strait, to try whether any convenient intercourse can be established with those places, or, if this should be found impossible, to trade on the coasts of New France.[2]

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tesimo et duodecimo, jussu Principis Walliæ piæ memoriæ, et Præfectorum Russiæ navigationis commissum est; de quorum reditu hactenus nihil inauditum, hinc spes aliqua affulget, eas angustias illas superasse nec judicamus quid certe nos inaudituros priusquam ex Indiæ Orientali redierint, aut ubi cum Chinensibus, aut Japonensibus sua transegerint, eademque via in Angliam redierint: quod felix et faustum sit precamur unice.

Nec fervor iste in nostris Amsterodamensibus deferbuit planē superioribus enim mensibus ab ijs emissa est navis, eo tantum fine, ut de transitu, vel Freto Hudsoni inquireret, et num commercij locus sit in istis oris, si vero eventus votis non respondeat, in oris Novæ Franciæ negotiabuntur.

[1] Henry, Prince of Wales, died in November, 1612, between the publication of the first and second editions of Hessel Gerritz. The ships sent out were commanded by Button, the discoverer of Button's Bay, a gentleman of Prince Henry's household. Button wintered in Hudson's Bay and returned in autumn, 1613.

[2] For an account of this expedition see O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i, pp. 68, 69.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

VOYAGE OF JOHN DE VERAZZANO ALONG THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA FROM CAROLINA TO NEWFOUNDLAND (CONTAINING THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF HUDSON'S RIVER), A.D. 1524.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN, BY JOSEPH G. COGSWELL, ESQ., MEMBER OF THE N. Y. HIST. SOC., ETC.

(FROM "N. Y. HIST. SOC. COLLS," NEW SERIES, VOL. I.)

PRELIMINARY NOTICE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE following paper is a new translation of the letter written by Verazzano on his return from his first voyage to the western continent, giving an account of his discoveries to Francis I of France, by whose orders he had undertaken it. It is made from a copy of the original manuscript in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence, which was presented to the New York Historical Society by G. W. Greene, Esq., now Consul of the United States at Rome. A translation of part of the same letter is printed in the first volume of the Society's "Collections", which was taken from Hakluyt,[1] who followed the original as given by Ramusio; but as that varies in substance, in some few instances, from the Magliabecchian; and as Hakluyt's translation is throughout obscure and antiquated in language, it seems requisite to publish the one which has been made from the Society's copy. This letter is in itself highly interesting and important; and is rendered still more so from the fact of its being the earliest original account in existence of the Atlantic

[1] From *Hakluyt's Divers Voyages*, a new edition of which, by J. Winter Jones, Esq., forms part of the publications of the Hakluyt Society.

coast of the United States, nearly the whole extent of which was visited by Verazzano during the voyage described in it. It is worthy of remark that the name by which the western continent is now known, is not used by Verazzano in the account of his visit to it, owing probably to the recent and not universal adoption of it: it is possible even that he was ignorant of its having been applied.

With respect to the comparative authenticity of the manuscript used by Ramusio, and that from which our copy is taken, we have nothing conclusive to offer: we can only say that the internal evidence is greatly in favour of the latter. Mr. Greene, who took up the whole subject in an article in the *North American Review* for October 1837, remarks that there are in Ramusio such variations from the Magliabecchian manuscript as can only be accounted for by supposing that the editor must have worked the whole piece over anew, correcting the errors of language upon his own authority. Something of the kind was evidently done: the language of the two is very different; and that used in the manuscript from which the present translation is made, has strong marks of being in the very form in which it was moulded by Verazzano. It is throughout just as sailors of little education commonly write: little or no regard is paid to grammar; the sentences run into each other; the subjects are thrown together confusedly; parenthetical clauses constantly break the thread of the narrative; and there are no points from beginning to end. From such a labyrinth of words it is not easy to affirm that the precise meaning has always been unravelled; but all possible pains have been taken to render the Italian original as exactly and as clearly as the barbarous style in which that is written would admit. The cosmographical description at the close is not found in Hakluyt, and it was not published in the volume of "Collections" before cited. It is now added, rather on account of the curious evidence it furnishes of the state of nautical science at that time, than of any valuable knowledge to be drawn from it.

J. G. C.

New York, Jan. 9th, 1841.

The editor of the present volume, whilst acknowledging his great obligations to Professor Cogswell, cannot share his opinions

about the cosmographical appendix. Before that appendix was published, Verazzano's voyage seemed without a purpose. In the appendix it is clearly stated that Verazzano, like the Cabots and Hudson, and like nearly all the north-western discoverers, sought a way to Cathay. This fact, which connects the first discoverer of Hudson's river so closely with the navigator whose name the river bears, is of paramount importance for our subject. It is the principal reason for inserting the letter in this collection.

VOYAGE,

ETC.

CAPTAIN JOHN DE VERAZZANO TO HIS MOST SERENE MAJESTY THE KING OF FRANCE, WRITES:

SINCE the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most Serene and Christian Majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprized of all that had happened to us; that we had been compelled, by the impetuous violence of the winds, to put into Brittany in distress, with only the two ships *Normandy* and *Dolphin;* and that, after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard; and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the *Dolphin* alone. From this voyage being now

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DA poi la fortuna passata nelle spiagge settentrionali, Sermo Signore non scrissi a vostra serenissima et cristianissima Maestà quello che era seguito delli quattro legni che quella mandó per lo oceano ad iscoprir nuove terre, pensando di tutto sia stata certificata come dalle impetuose forze de' venti fummo costretti con sola la nave Normanda e Dalfina afflitti ricorrere in brettagna dove resturate avía V. S. M. inteso il discorso facemmo con quelle armate in guerra per li lidi di Spagna, di poi la nuova disposizione con sola la dalfina in sequire la prima navigazione,

returned, I proceed to give your Majesty an account of our discoveries.

On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most Serene Majesty the King of Portugal, with fifty men; having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms, and other warlike munition and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered, from which we escaped unhurt by the divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the west, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country which had never before been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low; but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore, we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port

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dalla quale essendo ritornato darò adviso a V. S. M. di quello abbiamo trovato.

Dallo deserto scopulo propinquo alla isola di Madera del Sermo re di Portogallo con la detta dalfina alli 17. del passato mese di gennajo con cinquanta uomini forniti di vettovaglie, arme et altri strumenti bellici e munizione navale per otto mesi partimmo navigando per zeffiro spirando subsolano con dolce e soavo levita, in venticinque giorni corremmo leghe 800, e il di 14 di Febbrajo passammo una tormenta tanto aspera quanto mai alcuno che navigasse passasse. Della quale con lo divino ajuto e bontade e laude, del glorioso nome e fortunato fatti atti a sopportare la violenta onda del mare, fummo liberi, e seguimmo nostra navigazione continuando verso l' occidente pigliando alquanto del settentrione, e in venti cinque altri giorni corremmo più oltre leghe 400, dove ci apparse una nuova terra mai da alcuno antico o moderno vista. Mostravasi alquanto bassa al principio, ma approssimatici a un quarto di lega conoscemmo quella per li grandissimi fuochi facevano al lito del mare essere abitata: vedemmo correva verso l'Austro, custrandola per trovar alcuna porto dove potessimo con la nave sorgere per investigare la natura di

in which we might come to an anchor and examine into the nature of the country; but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely. Seeing the coast still stretched to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward; and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land, and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the sea-side, fled at our approach; but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced, by various friendly signs, to come to us. These shewed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances, and complexion. They then shewed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your Majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals, like martens, fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals, hanging down to the knees. All other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

The complexion of these people is black, not much different

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quella in spazio di leghe 50 non trovammo porto prossimo alcuno dove sicuri potessimo posare e visto che continuo scendeva verso l'Austro deliberammo tornare a rigarla verso il settentrione dove il medesimo trovammo sorgendo alla costa mandando il battello a terra avemmo vista di molta gente che venivano al lido del mare et vedendo approssimarci fuggirono alcuna volta, fermandosi si voltavano addietro con grande ammirazione risguardando, ma assicurandoli noi con varj segni, venivano alcuni di quegli, mostrando grande allegrezza a vederci maravigliandosi di nostri abiti e figure e bianchezza facendene varj segni dove col battello dovessimo più commodamente scendere offerendone di loro vivande: fummo alla terra e quello potessimo di loro vita e costumi conoscere con brevità diro a V. S. M. Vanno del tuto nudi salvochè alle parti pudibunde portano alcune pelli di piccoli animali simili a martori con una cintura d'erbe tessutu con code d'altri animali che pendono circuendo il corpo seno alle ginocchia il resto nudo, il capo simile. Alcuni di loro portano certe ghirlande simili di penne d'uccelli. Son di colore fieri

from that of the Ethiopians. Their hair is black and thick, and not very long; it is worn tied back upon the head, in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own; broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body. The only exception to their good looks, is that they have broad faces; but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the East,[1] especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them and the distance of our ship from the shore.

We found, not far from this people, another, whose mode of life we judged to be similar. The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills,

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non molto dagli Etiopi difforme i capelli neri e folti non molto lunghi i quali legano insieme dietro alla testa in forma d' una piccola coda. Quanto alla similitudine dell' uono somo bene proporzionate di mezza statura e più presto a noi eccedono in nel petto ampli, nelle braccia disposte le gambe e l' altro del corpo bene composti: non hanno altro salvo alquanto nel viso tendono in larghezza, non però tutti che a molti vedemmo il viso profilato, gli occhi neri e grandi la guardatura fissa, non sono di molta forza ma di ingenio acuti agili e grandissimi corridori per quello potemmo per esperienza conoscere. Somigliano per due estremi agl' orientali massime a quegli delle ultime regioni. Non potemmo di loro costumi molto in particulare comprendere per la poca stanza facemmo alla terra, per essere suso l' onde alla piaggia. Trovammo non lungi di quegli altri populi de quali pensiamo il vivere sia con-

[1] The resemblance between the nations of the eastern shores of Asia and the aborigines of North America is a fact more and more confirmed by modern research and travel. Still Verazzano, the first man who asserts it, could not possibly make the comparison. His repeated assertions can only be taken as proofs of the tendency of human nature strikingly described by Cæsar: "*Homines fere libenter quod volunt, credunt.*" He *wished* to reach Cathay; and, therefore, he believed himself to be near it. Another not less striking instance of the same tendency is to be found in Hessel Gerritsz's remarks about the poniard of a Hudson's Bay Esquimaux. (p. 188.)

about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea, which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore, in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too various in colours, and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that they are like the Hercynian forest, or the rough wilds of Scythia; and the northern regions full of vines and common trees; but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses, and other varieties, unknown in Europe; that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance; but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods; which, on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

As the "East" stretches around this country,[1] I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and

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forme, e il lito è coperto tutto di una minuta rena alto piedi quindici, estendosi in forma di piccoli colli largo passi cinquanta. Poi ascendendo si trovani alcuni bracci di mare che entrano per alcune foci rigando il lito dall' una all' altra parte come corre il lito di quello. A presso si mostra la terra lata tanto eminente che eccede il lito arenoso, con belle campagne e province piene di grandissime selve; parte rare e parte dense, vestite di varj colori di abori di tanta vaghezza e dilettevole guardatura quanto esprimere sia possible, nè credo quelle sieno come la ercinea selva o le aspre solitudini di scitia o piaggie settentrionali prene di viti e arbori, ma ornate di palme, lauri, e cipressi e altre varietà d' arbori incogniti alla nostra Europa quali da lungo spazio spirano suavissimi odori i quali non possemmo conoscere per la causa sopra narrata non che a noi fosse difficile per le selve discorrere che tutte sono penetrabili, ne pensiamo participando dello oriente per la circumferenza

[1] The curious reader will find a further development of Verazzano's geographical notions in his cosmographical appendix to the letter to Francis I. It is easy to perceive that these notions, though expressed in clear and often very precise terms, were extremely vague, and that they cannot, without violence, be tortured into a palpable shape. They are, in this respect, closely akin to the contemporary geographical delineations.

many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water; and being in the latitude of 34°,[1] the air is salubrious, pure, and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions; the most prevalent are the north-west and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain. If fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbours, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from rocks, and bold, so that, within four or five fathoms from the shore, there is twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide; and this depth constantly increases in a uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience; for while riding at anchor

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sieno senza qualche drogheria o liquore aromatico et altre divitie oro ed altro de quale colore la terra tutta tende, e copiosa di molti animali daini, cervi, lepre, e simili. Di laghi e stagni di viva acqua copiosa con varj numeri d' uccelli atti e commodi a ogni dilettevole piacere di venagione. Sta questa terra gradi 34, l' aria salubre pura e temperata dal caldo e dal freddo. Venti non impetuosi in quelli regione spirano e quelli che più continui regnano sono coro e zeffiro. Al tempo estivo del quale noi fummo il cielo è sereno con rara pluvia, e se alcuna volta da venti australi l' aria incorre in qualche pruina o caliggine in uno stante non durando è disfatta tornando pura e chiara, il mare tranquillo e non fluttuoso le onde del quale sono placide ancora che il lito tutto renda in bassezza, e nudo di porti non però e infesto a a naviganti essendo tutto netto e senza alcuno scopulo e profondo che per insino a 4 o 5 passi si trova presso alla terra senza flusso o riflusso piedi venti d' acqua crescendo tal proporzione uniforme alla profondità nel pelago con tanto buono territorio che qualsivoglia nave da tempesta afflitta mai in quelle

[1] Either this indication, or the direction of the course mentioned next page (line 6), must be wrong. This circumstance renders a critical investigation of Verazzano's track absolutely impossible. We must be satisfied with the rather vague assertions, that the shore he first saw now forms part of Carolina.

on the coast, we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries; we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold or moved at all.

We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men, to obtain water; but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating, by various friendly signs, that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your Majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf, to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat; but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them, that he lay as it were, dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs, and arms, and carried him to a distance

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parti non rompendo le funi potra perire e questo abbiamo provato per esperienza. Imperocchè per valere nel principio di Marzo come sempre ogni regione essere suole le forze de venti sendo noi in alto mare surti da procella oppressi prima trovammo la ancora rotta che nel fondo arrasse o facesse movimento alcuno.

Partimmo di questo luogo continuo scorrendo la costa qual trovammo tornava allo occidente veggendo per tutta quella grandissimi fuochi per la moltitudine delli abitatori. Surgendo in quella alla piaggia per non tenere porto alcuno, per necessita d'acqua mandammo il battello a terra con 25 uomini, per le grandissime onde gittava il mare al lito per essere la piaggia aperta non fu possibile senza pericolo di battello che alcuno potesse in terra scendere, vedemmo molta gente venivano al lito facendo varj segni d'amista mostrando fussimo a terra, fra quali vidi uno alto magnifico come intendera V.S.M. Mandando noi a nuoto uno giovane de' nostri marinari a terra portando a quegli alcune fantasie come sonagli specchi ed altre gentilizze, ed essendo 3 o 4 giunti prossimo a quegli git-

from the surf. The young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks, in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards, they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trousers and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat, seeing a great fire made up and their companion placed very near it,—full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty—imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength, after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black, like the others; that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs; and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; that is all that he observed of them.

Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched

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tando loro le merce e volendo adietro tornarsi fu tanto dalle onde rimosso che quasi morto cadde trasportato alla riva del lito quale visto la gente della terra. Subito corsono pigliandolo per la testa e gambe e braccia lo portarono alquantolontano onde veggendo il giovane in tal forma portarsi da terror spaventato metteva grandissimi gridi—il che loro in loro lingua simile facevano dimostrando non temesse—de poi quello in terra a pie d'uno colletto posto facevano grandissimi atti di ammirazione guardando la bianchezza delle sue carni per tutto lineandolo e spogliandogli la camicia ed i calzamonti e restato nudo feciono appresso di quello uno grandissimo fuoco approssimandolo al calore. Il che visto i marinari che erano al battelo restate pieni di spavento come in ogni caso nuovo è costume di quelli pensavano che per cibo lo volessero arrostire, riavuto lui le forze, con quelli alquanto dimorato per segni dimostro volersi tornare alla nave e quelli con grandissimo amore tenendolo sempre stretto, con varj abbracciamenti l' accompagniarno fino al mare e per più assicurarlo allargandosi in uno colle eminente stettero a riguardarlo fino che quello fu al battello. Il giovane di queste gente conobbe che tali sono di colore nero come gli altri e le carne molto lustre di mediana statrua,

to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the large forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around, we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age. When we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight; but the girl would not touch any; everything we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall; but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away. Having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only.[1] We found them

il viso più profilato, il corpo e l' altre membra assai più dilicati di molta poca forza e più presto d' ingegno altro non vide.

Di qui partiti seguendo sempre il leto che tornava verso settentrione pervenimmo in spazio di leghe 50 a un' altra terra che molto si mostrava bella e piena di grandissime selve. Giugnemmo a quella andando 20 uomini circa due leghe fra terra e trovammo le genti che per paura s'erano fuggite alle selve, cercando per tutto scontrammo una femina molto vecchia ed una giovane d' anni 18 in 20, le quali per timore si erano ascose fra l' erbe. Aveva la vecchia due fanciullette quale portava sopra le spalle e dietro al collo uno fanciullo tutti d' eta d' anni viii in circa, giunte noi a quelli cominciorno a gridare e farne segni agli uomini che s' erano fuggite alle selve. Donammoli noi a mangiare delle nostre vivande quale con gran gusto accettorno, la giovane tutto rinunziava e con ira a terra gittava e pigliammo il fanciullo alla vecchia per menare in Francia, e volendo prendere la giovane quale era di molta bellezza, e d' alta statura, non fu mai possibile per i grandissimi gridi spandeva la potessimo condurre al mare avendo a passare per alcune selve ed

[1] When we compare this conduct with that of the natives related in the last page, we may well ask, "Which are the *savages*?" The early navigators,

fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp. Their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse, which there abounds; different in colour and size from ours, and of a very delicious flavour. Besides, they take birds and fish for food; using snares, and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe, from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats, made of one tree, twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone or iron, or other kind of metal. In the whole country, for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats, they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern, to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility, and beauty, is

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essendo dalla nave lungi deliberammo lasciarla portando solo il fanciullo. Trovammo costoro più bianchi che i passati, vestiti di certe erbe che stavano pendenti á rami degli alberi quale tessono con varie cordi di canape silvestra, il capo nudo nella medesima forma degli altri il rivere loro in genere è di legumi de quali abondano differenti nel colore a grandezze de' nostri di ottimo e dilettevoli sapere. In oltre di venazione pesci ed ucelli quali pigliano con lacei ed archi fanno de duro legno, le freccie di calamo e nella estremita mettono ossi di pesci, e d' altri animali. Sono in questa parte le fiere più salvattiche che non sono in la nostra Europa per la continua molesta hanno dei venatori. Vedemmo molte delle loro barchette construtte d' un solo albero lunghe piedi 20 larghe piedi 4 non con ferro o pietra o altro genere de metallo sono fabbricate imperocche tutta quella terra in spazeo de fyhe dugento che vi corremmo alcuna pietra d' alcuna sorta mai da noi fu vista. Auitansi del quarto elemento del legno tale parte quanto basti alla concavita dela barca ed il simile della prora e poppa tanto che navigando possa solcare le onde del mare. La terra del sito, bonta e belezza è come l' altre selve vare di vario genere d' alberi piene ma non di tanto odore per essere più

prompted by too natural a curiosity, and not respecting men whom they considered as little better than wild beasts, tried to kidnap some of the natives whenever opportunity offered. They thus caused the spirit of distrust and hostility, which was afterwards evinced by the North American Indians.

like the other; abounding also in forests, filled with various kinds of trees; but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

We saw in this country many vines, growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found, also, wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs. We saw also many grounds for conjecturing that they often sleep in the open air, without any covering but the sky. Of their other usages we know nothing; we believe, however, that all the people we were among live in the same way.

After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour, we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the north-east, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding

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settentrionale e fredda. Vedemmo in quello molte vite dalla natura produtte, quali alzandosi avvoltano agli alberi come nella cisalpina Gallia costumano, le quali se dagli agricoltori avessino il perfetto ordine di cultura senza dubbio produrrebbono ottrini vini, perche più volte il frutto di quello beendo, veggendo suave e dolce non dal nostro differente sono da loro temiti in estimazione imperocchè per tutto dove nascono levano gli arbuscoli circustanti ad causa il frutto possa germinare. Trovammo rose silvestre e viole gigli e molte sorte di erbe e fiori odoriferi da nostri differente. Le abitazioni loro non conoscemmo per essere dentro infra terra, estimiamo per molti segni vedemmo sieno di legno e erbe composte, credendo ancora per varie congetture e vestigii molte di quegli dormire alla campagne ed altra che il cielo non abbiano per copertura. Altro di costoro con conoscemmo, pensiamo tutti gli altri della passata terra vivino nel medesimo modo. Essendo in questa terra dimorati tre giorni, surti alla costa per la rarita de' porti deliberammo partire scorrendo sempre al lito infra settentrione ed oriente, il dì sola-

one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea, from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches,

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mente navigando e la notte posando la ancora in termini di leghe cento trovammo un sito molto ameno posto infra piccoli colli eminenti nel mezzo de' quali correva al mare una grandissima riviera, la quale dentro alla foce era profonda e dal mare all' eminenza di quella col ricrescimento delle acque quali trovammo piedi otto e vi passata ogni oneraria nave a per essere surti nella costa in buono obbligo non volemmo senza intellegenza della foce aventurarci fummo col battello ed entrando nella riviera alla terra quale trovammo molto populata e le genti quasi conforme all' altre vestiti di penne d' uccelli di varj colori venivano verso di noi allegramente mettendo grandissimi gridi di ammirazioni mostrandone dove col battello avessimo più securamente a possare, entrammo in detta riviera dentro alla terra circa mezza lega dove vedemmo faceva un bellissimo lago di circuito di leghe tre in circa, per lo quale andavano discorrendo dall' una all' altra parte al numero di trenta di loro barchette con infinite genti che passavano dall' una all altra terra per verderci. In uno stante come advenire suole nel navicare movendosi impetuoso contrario vento dal mare fummo forzati tornacci alla nave lasciando la detta terra con molto dispiacere per la commodita e vaghezza

as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor,[1] we sailed eighty leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your Majesty's mother.[2]

We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we

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di quella pensando non fosse senza qualche facolta di prezzo mostrandosi tutte li colli di quella minerali. Levata l' ancora navicammo verso l' oriente che cosi la terra tornava, discorse leghe ottanta. Sempre a vista di quella discoprimmo una isola in forma triangolare lontano dal continente leghe x. di grandezza simile alla isola di Rodi piena di colli, coperta d' alberi, e molto populata per li continui fuochi, per tutto interno al lito vedemmo che facevano. Battezzammolo in nome della vostra clarrissima genitrice. Non surgendo a quella per la opposizione del tempo venimmo a un' altra terra distante dalla isola leghe xv trovammo uno bellissimo porto e prima in quello entrassimo vedemmo circa

[1] It is quite clear, from the course of the vessel, that the river here described is the Hudson, and the bay, its mouth. The description also is perfectly accurate. As is stated further on, by Professor Cogswell, an American historian, Dr. Miller was of opinion, that not the bay here summarily sketched, but the one more amply depicted on a later page of Verazzano's journal, is New York harbour. Dr. Miller was most probably misled by his patriotism. The charming description of the second bay cannot be mistaken for that of the mouth of the Hudson, by any one whose judgment is entirely unbiassed. The mistake has for a long time been generally acknowledged in America.

The second bay, which Verazzano afterwards entered, is Narrangaset Bay (Newport harbour, Rhode Island). The praise given to it by its discoverer is not by any means exaggerated.

[2] It may perhaps be allowed to hazard the conjecture that this tribe was descended from the Welsh emigrants, who had reached America in the early part of the middle ages: and of whom many travellers, but most especially Mr. Catlin, believe to have found some traces. They need not have been *very* white to appear fair to a sunburnt Italian mariner. The emendation introduced into the text by Mr. Cogswell, seems of too bold a nature. *Di colore bianchissimo* can hardly be interpreted into *inclining to a white (bronze) colour.*

saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear, among them were two kings, more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, and they were dressed in the following manner: The oldest had a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures, his head was without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colours. The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion (?); some of them incline more to a white (bronze?), and others to a tawny colour; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains;

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xx barchette di genti che venivano con varj gridi e maraviglie intorno alla nave non approssimandosi più che cinquanta passi fermavansi vedendo lo edificio nostro effigie ed abite: di poi tutti insieme spandevano un altro grido, significando rallegrarsi assicuratigli alquanto imitando loro gesti si approssimurono tanto che gitammo loro alcuni sonagli e specchj e molte fantasie quale prese con riso e riguardandole sicuramente nella nave entrorno. Erano infra quelli duo re de tanta bella statura e forma quanto narrare sia possibile il primo d'anni 40 in circa l'altro d'anni 24, l'abito de' quali tale era—il più vecchio sopra il corpo nudo aveva una pelle di cervo lavorata artifiziosamante alla damaschina con varj ricami, la testa nuda, li capelli aditro avolti con varie legature, al collo una catena larga ornata di molte pietri di diversi colori. Il giovane quasi nella medesima forma. Era questa la più bella gente e la più gentile di costumi abbiamo trovata in questa navigazione, eccedono noi di grandezza. sono di colore bianchissimo. alcuni pendono più in bianchizza ma altri in colore flavo, il viso profilato, i capegli lunghi e

their eyes are black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. I say nothing to your Majesty of the other parts of the body, which are all in good proportion, and such as belong to well formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty; they wear no clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those worn by the men; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side; others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments, in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals,—yellow being the colour especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to

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neri nei quali pongono grandissimo studio in adornargli, gli occhi neri e pronti, la aria dolce e soave imitando molto l'antico. Delle altre parti del corpo non dirò a V.S.M. tenendo tutte le proporzione del corpo l'appartiene a uno bene composto. Le donne loro sono della medesima forma e belleza molto graziose e di venusta aira e grato aspetto di costumi e continentia, nude con solo una pelle di cervo ricamata come gli uomini alcune alle braccia portano pelle di lupi cervieri molto ricche, il capo con varj ornamenti di treccie composte de' medesimi capegli che pendono dall' uno e l'altro lato del petto. Alcune hanno altre acconciature come le donne d' Egitto e di Soria usano, e queste sono quelle che eccedono alla età e giunte in spozalizio agli orecchi tengono varie fantasie pendenti come gli orientali costumano cosi gli uomini come le donne a quali vedemmo molte lamine di rame lavorate da quelli tenute in pregio più che l'oro; il quale per il colore non stimano; imperocche fra tutti i metalle da loro per il più vile e tenuto per il giallo colore che aborrono, lo azzurro ed il rosso sopra ogni altro esaltando. Quello che da noi gli fù donato che più tenessino in prezzo erano sonagli, cristallini azzurri ed altre fantasie da tenere agli orecchj ed al collo non prez-

have silk or gold stuffs, or other kind of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case with the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous; giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from the shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colours, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want, during which time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful; for although they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats, nor could we ever get them on board by entreaties or any presents we could make them. One of the two Kings often came with his Queen and

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zano drappi di seta o di oro o di oltri generi di drappi, ne si curano quelli avere, simile de metalli come acciajo ferro, perche più volte mostrandoli delle nostre armi non ne pigliavano ammirazione e di quelle domandavano solo lo artifizio risguardando delli specchj il simile facevano subito quelli guardando, ridendo renunziavano. Sono molto liberali che tutto quello hanno donato. Facemmo con loro grande amista ed uno giorno avante entrassimo con la nave nel porto stando per li tempe adversi una lega nel mare surti venivano con un numero di loro barchette alla nave puntata ed acconci il viso con varj colori mostrandoci vero segno di allegrezza putandone delle loro vivande, facendoci segno dovo per salvazione della nave nel porto avessimo a surgere di continuo accompagnandone perfino a quello posammo la ancora, pel quale posamma giorni quindici restaurandone di molta opportunita, dove ogni giorno veniva gente a vedere alla nave menando le loro donne delle quali sono molto curiosi imperocche entrando loro in quella dimorando lungo spazio facevano le loro donne aspettare nelle barchette e con quanti prieghi li facessimo offerendo donare loro varie cose non era possibile che laciassino quelle in nave entrare e molte volte venendo uno delli duo re con la

many attendants, to see us for his amusements; but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying they would come and see our ship,—this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us they came off, and remained awhile to look around; but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent his queen, with her attendants, in a very light boat, to wait, near an island a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs and expressing his fanciful notions about everything in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men stayed two or three days on a small island near the ship for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do, he came with seven or eight of his attendants to inquire about our movements, often asking us if we intended to remain long, and offering us everything at his command; and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultiva-

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regina e molti gentili uomini per suo piacere a vedere in prima si fermava sempre a una terra distante da noi 200 passi, mandando una barchetta, ad avisarne della sua venuta, dicendo volare venire a vedere la nave, questo facendo in spezie di sicurta, e come da noi avevano la risposta subito venivano e stati alquanto a risguardare sentendo il nojoso clamore della turba marittima mandava la regina con le sue damigelle in una barchetta molto leggiera a riposare ad una isola distante da noi un quarto de lega restando in grandissimo spazio ragionando per segni e questi di varie fantasie riguardando tutte le sostanze della nave domandando in particolare la proprieta di quelle imitando i nostri saluti, gustando i nostri cibi, di poi benignamente da noi si partiva ed alcuna volta due e tre giorni stando le nostre genti ad una isola piccola vicina alla nave per varie necessita come e costume de' marinaj veniva con 7 o 8 de suoi gentili uomini in quella guardando nostre operazioni, domandandone più volte se volevamo restar quivi per lungo tempo offerendone ogni sua faculta, di poi tirando con l' arco correndo faceva con li suoi gentili uomini varj giuochi per darne piacere fummo più volte infra terra v o vi leghe quale trovammo tanto amena quanto narrare sia possi-

tion of every kind, whether of corn, wine, or oil; there are often plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees of which they were composed were oaks, cypresses, and others unknown in Europe. We found also apples, plums, filberts, and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimbly as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference, made of logs split in halves, without any

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bile, atta a ogni genere di cultura frumento, vino, olio, imperocche in quella sono campagne larghe xxv in xxx leghe aperte e nude d'ogni impedimento d'arbori, di tanta fertilita che qualsivoglia seme in quella produrebbe ottimo frutto. Entrando poi nelle selve tutte a ogni numeroso esercito in qual modo sia sono penetrabili, delle quali gli arbori sono quercie, cipressi, ed altri incogniti nella Europa. Trovammo pomi luculliane prune, avellane e molte altre frutte. Il genere di esse è differente dalle nostre. Animali vi sono di grandissimo numero, cervi, daini lupi cervieri, e di altre spezie quali nel modo degli altre pigliano con lacci, archi, che sono per loro principale arme, le freice de quali sono con molta pulchritudine lavorate ponendo nella estremita per ferro smeriglio, diaspro e duro marmore ed altre taglienti pietre delle quali si servono per ferro nel tagliare alberi e fabricare le loro barchette di un solo fusto di legno con mirabile artifizio concavo, nella quale commodamente andra x o xii uomini, ed il remo corto nella estremita larga operande quel solo con forza di braccia in pelago senza alcuno pericolo, con tanta velocita quanto a loro piace e stendendoci vedemmo loro abitazione in forma circolare di x in xii passi di ambito fabricate di semi-

regularity in architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours; for the whole sea-coast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has posts and retreats for animals. They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require. This is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers: in some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with the other tribes; which is here better than elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated. In the time of sowing they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long lived. If they fall sick, they cure themselves without medicine, by the heat of the fire; and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affectionate and charitable towards their relatives, making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good

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circoli di legno separate l' una dall altra sensa ordine d' architectura, coperte di tele di paglia sottilmente lavorate che da vento e pioggia li difendono, non è dubbio se avissino la perfezione degli artifizj, noi abiamo che conducessino magni edifizj, imperocche tutto il lito marittimo di vive pietre d' auralee e cristalline e di alabastro e pieno é per tale causa è copiose di porti e ricettacòli di animali. Permutano le dette cose di uno in altro luogo secondo la esperienza del cito ed il tempo in quello dimorati—levano solo le tele, in uno stante hanno altre abitazioni fabricate e dimora, in ciascheduna padre e famiglia in grandissimo numero e in qualche una vedemmo xxv o xxx anime ed il vivere loro è come gli altri di legumi i quali producono con più ordine di cultura, degli altri asservando nelle semenze lo influsso lunare il nascimento delle biade e molte modi dall antichi dati—in oltre di venagione e pesci—vivono lungo tempo. In egritudine incorromo se da . . . . . sono oppressi senza flemito col fuoco da loro medesimi si sanano ed il fine loro è della ultima vecchieza quidichiamo sieno di loro prossimi molto pietosi e caritativi, facendo nelle adversita gran lamenti, nelle miserie ricordando tutte le loro felicita ed i parenti l' uno con l' altro

fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while. This is all that we could learn of them.

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of north latitude; but much colder, from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your Majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues; and then enlarging itself, it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.[1]

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nel fine di loro vita usano il pianto siciliano misto con canto per lungo tempo durando. E questo e quanto di loro potessimo comoscere. Questa terra è situata nel paralello di Roma in gradi 41⅔ ma alquanto più fredda per accidente, non per natura, come in altra parte narrero a V.S.M. descrivendo al presente il sito di detto posto guarda verso lo austro augusta mizza lega dipoi entrando in quello infra oriente e settentrione s' estende leghe XII dove allargandosi causa uno amplissimo seno di circuito di leghe XX in circa nel quale sono V. isolette di molta fertilita e vaghezza piene di alti e spatioso alberi infra le quali isole ogni numero di classe senza timore di tempesta o di altro impedimento di fortuna secura può quiescere. Tornando por verso meridio alla entrata del porto all' uno e l'altro lato sono amenissimi colli con molti rivi che dalla eminenza al mare scaturiscono chiare acque. Nel mezzo della bocca si trova uno scoglio di viva pietra dalla natura prodotto atto a fabbricarvi qual si vuole macchina o propugnacolo per custodia di quello.

[1] The above description applies to Narraganset Bay and the harbour of Newport in Rhode Island, although mistaken by Dr. Miller, in his discourse

Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the fifth of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight. The nature of the country appeared much the same as before; but the mountains were a little higher, and all, in appearance, rich in minerals. We did not stop to land, as the weather was very favourable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east; and, fifty leagues beyond, more to the north, where we found a more elevated country full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses, and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle; but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable, by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain

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Essendo di ogni nostra opportunita restaurati il giorno sei di maggio partimino dall detto porto continuando il lito non perdendo mai la vista della terra navigammo leghe 150, trovandola di una modesima natura ed alquanto più alta con alcune montagne che tutte si mostravano minerali, non posammo a quella per la prosperita del tempo ne serviva in rigare la costa pensammo fosse all' altra conforme—correva il lito allo oriente, in spazio de leghe 50 tenando più al settentrione trovammo una terra alta piena di selve molto folte delle quali li alberi furono abeti, cipressi, e simili che si generano in regione fredda, la gente tutte dalle altre difforme e quanto i passati erano d' ogni gesto gentili, questi erano di ruvidezza e visi tanto barbari, che mai potemmo con quanti segnali li facessimo avere con loro conversazione alcuna vestono di pelle di orsi, di lupi cervieri consocere andando più volte dove avevano la abitatazione stemiamo le più volte sia di venagione e pesci e di alcuni frutti che sono

before this Society (as published in the first volume of the former series of Collections), for the bay and harbour of New York. The latter are briefly described in a preceding paragraph of this translation (p. 45) with sufficient clearness to admit of their being easily recognized. The island, "of a triangular form, resembling the island of Rhodes" (which Verrazzano mentions as fifty leagues to the east of New York,—p. 46), is doubtless Block Island. —*Cogswell.*

fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation. The land appears sterile, and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord, to our boats beneath, whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange. They took from us only knives, fish-hooks, and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies. When we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men. When we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries, and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary, except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wear copper earrings.

Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering north-east, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from

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spezie di radici quale la terra per se medisima produce. Non hanno legumi ne vedemmo segno alcuno di culturæ nemmeno farebbe la terra per la sterilita non alta a producere frutto o seme alcuno. Se da quegli alcuna volta renunziando volevamo delle loro cose ne venivano al lito del mare sopra alcune pietre dove, più frangeva e stando noi nel batello con una corda, quello che volevan dare ci mandevano, continuo gridando alla terra non ci approssimassimo, domandando subito il cambio allo incontro, non pigliando se non coltelli, lami da pescare e metallo tagliente, ne stimavano gentiliezza alcuna, e quando non avevamo più che permutare da loro partendo gli uomini ne facevano tutti gli atti di dispregio e verecondia che puo fare ogni brutta creatura. Fummo contra loro volonto dentro fra terra due o tre leghe XXV uomini e quando scendevano al lito ci tiravano con loro archi mettando gridi grandissimi, poi si fuggivano nelle selve. Non connoscemmo in questa terra facolta di momento alcuno se non grandissime selve con alcuni colli possono avere qualche metallo che a molti vedemmo pater nostri di rame alli orecchi. Partimmo scorendo la costa infra oriente e settentrione quale trovammo

woods; and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the mainland, small, and of pleasant appearance; but high, and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic Gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people; but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water, and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (*sic*) leagues of unknown land.

As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures any thing certain. It seemed to us that they had no religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon, nor other planets; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages; our conclusion was, that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely

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più bella, aperta e nuda di selve con alte montagne dentro infra terra diminuendo verso il lito del mare—in leghe cinquanta discoprimmo XXXII isole tutte propinque al continente, piccole e di grata prospettiva, alte tenendo la verzura della terra fra le quali si causava bellissimi porti e canali come nel seno adriatico, nella Ilirede e Dalmazia fanno. Non avemma con la gente conoscenza e stimiamo come le altre lasciate di costumi e natura siano. Navigando infra 'l subsolano ed acquilone in spazio di leghe 150 e di già avendo consumato tutte le nostre sostanze navali e vettovaglie, avendo discoperto leghe 502 cioe leghe 700 più di nuova terra fornendoci di acque e legne deliberammo di tornare in Francia.

Quanto alla fede tenegono tutti questi popoli abbiamo trovate per mancamento di lingue non possemmo conoscere ne per segni o gesti alcuni. Consideriamo tenessino legge o fede alcuna, ne conoscono una per una causa e motore ne venerasino cielo o stelle. Sole luna o altri pianeti, ne manco tenessino spezie di idolatria ne conoscemmo facessino sagrificio o altre preci ne in la loro populazione hanno tempj o case di

free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

It remains for me to lay before your Majesty a cosmographical exposition of our voyage.[1] Taking our departure, as I before

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orazione. Stimiamo non tenghino fede alcuna ma vivino in questa libertà, e tutto dalla ignoranza procede perche sono molti facili a persuadere tutto quello hanno i cristani circa il culto divino vendevano fare e facevano con quello stimolo e fervore che noi facciamo.

Restami a narrare a V. S. M. l'ordine di detta navigazione circa la cosmographia.[2] Come di sopra dissi partendo dalli prefati scoperti che

[1] In the remainder of this letter, which is chiefly cosmographical, Verrazzano shows how many degrees farther westward he had sailed, than the knowledge of the ancients extended, and how erroneous were their notions about the relative proportions of land and water. on the earth's surface. As to the first point, the whole calculation it will be observed is based upon an error in estimating his meridional distance, which is too large by nearly one half, and of course his difference of longitude in the same proportion; but this is no disparagement to his nautical skill, for navigation was in its infancy at the time of his voyage, and he had not the aid of a lunar observation or a chronometer to correct his dead reckoning. Nor does it appear from the letter precisely in what way he determined his ship's progress; he says only that he took observations of the sun (probably with an astrolabe as the quadrant had not then been invented), and that he kept notes of his daily run; but the whole account, and particularly his deductions respecting the relative proportion of land and water, prove how very imperfect all such knowledge then was. This part of the letter is now, we believe, for the first time, translated into English. In giving it this new dress we have endeavoured to keep as close as possible to the original; but such is its obscurity and confusedness of expression, that we do not venture to assert we have derived the exact meaning of every passage; still we are confident that no essential idea has been omitted or mistranslated. In the numerical computations the fractional parts are neglected, as they were found to be often wrong, owing most likely to the copyist's carelessness, and as they are not important to the right understanding of the statements. *Cogswell.*

[2] Some very summary remarks about this cosmographical appendix will be found in the introduction. If it was the object of the present book to illustrate the voyage of Verazzano, not that of Hudson, the cosmographical appendix ought to have been treated at great length, as being one of the most curious monuments of geographical literature. Its complete elucidation requires however a very ample commentary; and it would be unjustifiable if we were to introduce such a treatise into the present already somewhat overgrown volume.

observed from the above mentioned desert rocks, which lie on the extreme verge of the west, as known to the ancients, in the meridian of the Fortunate Islands, and in the latitude of 32 degrees north from the equator, and steering a westward course, we had run, when we first made land, a distance of 1200 leagues or 4800 miles, reckoning according to nautical usage four miles to a league. This distance calculated geometrically, upon the usual ratio of the diameter to the circumference of the circle, gives 92 degrees; for if we take 114 degrees as the chord of an arc of a great circle, we have by the same ratio 95 degrees as the chord of an arc on the parallel of 34 degrees, being that on which we first made land, and 300 degrees as the circumference of the whole circle, passing through this plane. Allowing, then, as actual observations show, that 62⅔ terrestrial miles correspond to a celestial degree, we find the whole circumference of 300 degrees as just given to be 18,759 miles, which divided by 360, makes the length of a degree of longitude in the parallel of 34 degrees to be 52 miles, and that is the true measure. Upon this basis, 1200 leagues, or 4800 miles meridional distance, on the parallel of 34, give 92 degrees, and so many therefore have we sailed farther to the west than was known

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son situate nel fine dello occidente alli antichi noto, e nel meridiano descritto per le insule fortunate in latitudine gradi 32 dallo equatore del nostro emisperio navigando allo occidente perfino alla prima terra trovammo leghe 1200, che contengono miglia 4800, computando miglia quattro per lega secondo lo uso marittimo degli navelerii geometrice giusta la proporzione tripla settima del diametro alla circonferenza gradi $92\frac{}{4}, \frac{5}{7}, \frac{4}{2}, \frac{6}{7}, \frac{4}{3}, \frac{}{3}$, con ciò sia che essendo la corda del arco del massimo circolo gradi $114\frac{6}{9}\frac{}{1}$ e la corda del paralello gradi 34, della prima terra da noi trovata alla medesima proporzione gradi $95\frac{2}{4}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{0}$, essere si nostra l'ambito di tutto il circolo gradi $300\frac{3}{1}\frac{}{5}, \frac{1}{7}\frac{3}{5}$ che dando per ogni grado come confermano la maggiore parte di quelli che hanno specimentato rispondere in terra alla proporzione del cielo miglia 62½ fariano miglia $18759\frac{3}{1}\frac{}{2}, \frac{1}{6}$, quale ripartite in 360 perveneria per ciascheduno miglio $52\frac{1}{9}, \frac{2}{0}\frac{}{4}, \frac{8}{7}, \frac{2}{2}$, e tanto vale uno grade di longitudine in detto paralello di gradi 34. Sopra il quale per la retta del merideano di detti scoperti che stanno in gradi 32 abbiamo calculata la ragione in questo che le dette leghe 1200 per retta linea in gradi 34 da occidente in oriente abbiamo trovato, pervenia adunque per quella gradi $92\frac{}{4}, \frac{5}{7}, \frac{4}{2}, \frac{6}{7}, \frac{4}{3}, \frac{}{3}$, e tanto abbi-

to the ancients. During our voyage we had no lunar eclipses or like celestial phenomenas, we therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments, by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another; all these observations, as also the ebb and flow of the sea in all places, were noted in a little book, which may prove serviceable to navigators; they are communicated to your Majesty in the hope of promoting science.

My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian ocean is one, and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns, and shown to be erroneous by experience. The country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that

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amo navigato più allo occidente e non fu cognito alli antichi, nel detto paralello de gradi 34, questa distanza a noi fu nota per la longitudine con varj strumente navigando senza eclissi lunari o altro aspetto per al moto solare pigliando sempre la elevazione a qual si voglia ora per la differenza faceva dall uno all' altro orizzonte correndo le nave geometrice, ne era noto lo intervallo dall uno meridiano all' altro come in un libretto tutto amplamente notato insieme col crescimento del mare in qualsivoglia clima ad ogni tempo ed ora il quale non inutile stimo abbia a essere a naviganti, spero meglio per la tecrica conferilo a V. S. M. Mia intenzione era di pervenire in questa navigazione al Cathaj allo estremo oriente dell Asia pensando trovare tale impedimento di nuova terra quale ho trovata, e se per qualche ragione pensava quella trovare non senza qualche futo di penetrare allo oceano orientale essere stimava questa opinione di tutti gli antichi e stata credendo certamente il nostro oceano orientale di India uno essere senza interpozeone di terra queste afferma Aristotile argomentando per varie similitudini la quale opinione e molto contraria a moderni e la esperienza falsa imperocche la terra e stata trovata da quegli antichi incognita un altro mondo a rispetto di quella a loro fu noto—manifestamente essere si mostra e di maggiore

before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent. We shall now be briefly explained to your Majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator, on a meridian 20 degrees west of the Fortunate Islands, to the latitude of 54; and there still found land. Turning about, they steered northward on the same meridian, and along the coast to the eighth degree of latitude, near the equator; and thence along the coast, more to the west and north-west, to the latitude of 21°, without finding a termination to the continent. They estimated the distance run as 89 degrees, which, added to the 20 first run west of the Canaries, make 109 degrees; and so far west they sailed from the meridian of these islands. But this may vary somewhat from truth. We did not make this voyage, and therefore cannot speak from experience. We calculated it geometrically from the observations furnished by many navigators who have made the voyage, and affirm the distance to be 1600 leagues, due allowance being made for the deviations of the ship from a straight course by reason of contrary winds. I hope that we shall now obtain certain information on these points by new voyages to be made on the same coasts.

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della nostra Europa, della Africa e quasi della Asia se rettamente speculiamo la grandezza di quella come sotto brevita ne faro un poco di discorso a V. S. M. Oltre lo equatore distante dal meridiano dalle insule fortunate verso lo occidente gradi 20 $\frac{3}{4}\frac{2}{7}\frac{0}{2}\frac{6}{8}\frac{0}{1}$ gli spani verso lo austro gradi 54, hanno navigato dove hanno trovato terra senza fine tornando poi al settentrione giusta la detta linea meridionale correndo il lito perfino in 8 gradi propinqui allo equatore più allo occidente participando più al settentrione giusta la detta linea meridionale continuando il lito perfino in gradi 21, non trovando termine gradi 89 $\frac{2}{4}\frac{0}{6}\frac{7}{7}\frac{0}{8}\frac{9}{2}$ hanni navigato quali giunti con gradi 20 $\frac{3}{4}\frac{2}{6}\frac{0}{7}\frac{6}{8}\frac{0}{1}$, fanno gradi 110 $\frac{4}{4}\frac{4}{6}\frac{8}{7}\frac{3}{8}\frac{0}{3}$ e tanto hanno navigato del detto meridiano dalle isole fortunate più allo occidente nel paralello gradi 21 della altitudine, questa distanza da noi non è stata sperimenta per non avere fatta detta navigazione potria variare poco più o manco abbiamo quella calcolata geometrice per la notizia di molti navicalieri che la hanno frequentata quali affermano essere leghe 1600 giudicando per lo arbitrio il discorso della nave secondo la qualita del vento per la continua navigazione spero in breve

But to return to ourselves. In the voyage which we have made by order of your Majesty, in addition to the 92 degrees we run towards the west, from our point of departure, before we reached land in the latitude of 34, we have to count 300 leagues which we ran north-eastwardly, and 400 nearly east, along the coast, before we reached the 50th parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle without coming to the termination of the land. Thus, adding the degrees of south latitude explored, which are 54, to those of the north, which are 66, the sum is 120; and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe,—for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in 71 north; and the Cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in 35 south; and their sum is only 106. And if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea-coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed; who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water; whereas actual experience proves the reverse. So that we judge, in respect to

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ne avremo ottima certitudine dall' altra parte noi in questa nostra navigazione fatta per ordine di V. S. M. oltra i gradi 92 che dal detto meridiano verso lo occidente dalla prima terra trovammo gradi 34 navigando leghe 300 infra oriente e settentrione leghe 400 quasi allo oriente continuo il lito dell' terra siamo pevenuti per infino a gradi 50, lasciando la terra che più tempo fa trovorno li Lusitani quali seguimo piu al settentrione pervenendo sino al circulo artico il fine lasciendo incognito. Giunta adunque la latitudine settentrionale con la merideonale videlicèt i gradi 54 con le gradi 66 fanno gradi 120 che tanto contiene di latitudine la Africa con la Europa perche giungendo lo estremo della Europa che sono i limiti di Norvegia che stanno in gradi 71 con lo estremo dell' Africa che e il promontori di capo di Buona Speranza in gradi 35, faranno solo gradi 106 e se lo equestre di detta terra in parte corresponde al lito marittimo, non e dubbio di grandezza la Asia ecceda in tal forma troviamo il globo della terra molto maggiore non hanno tenuto gli antichi a ripugnanza matematici quelle rispetto alla acqua sia minima il che per esperienza lo opposito veggiamo e quanto allo

extent of surface, the land covers as much space as the water. And I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your Majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking.

The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe at the north, in Norway and Russia; which disproves the idea of the ancients, that all this part had been navigated, from the Cembric Chersonesus eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it; which seas, in fact, do not surround either of the two continents; for, as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere, at the latitude of 54, extends eastwardly an unknown distance; and that of the northern, passing the 66th parallel, turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th.

In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your Majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

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arce corporale, di spazio non meno la terre che la acqua possedere giudichiamo come alla presenza meglio spero e con più ragione esperimentare e mostrare a V. S. M. tutta quella nuova terra o nuovo mondo che disopra abbiamo narrato contiene Insieme congiungendo alla Asia ed Africa et che sappiamo certo porria giungere alla Europa con la Norvegia e Russia che sarebbe falso secondo gli antichi quali dal promontorio de cimbri quasi tutto il settentrionale decono essere stato navigato alto oriente circuendo circa il mare caspio il medesimo affermano resterebbe adunque solo interclusa da due mari situati dallo orientale ed occidentale, e equelle due ne chiude l' uno e l' altro perche oltre a' gradi 54 della equinoziale verso lo austro s' estende allo oriente per lungo spazio e dal settentrionale passando i gradi 66. Seque tornando in verso lo oriente giungende perfino a gradi 70. Spero con lo ajuto di V. S. M. ne avremo in breve migliore certitudine, la quale Dio omnipossente prosperi in diuturna fama ad causa veggiamo ottime fine di questa nostra cosmografia che si adempie la sacra voce dello evan-

On board the ship *Dolphin*, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

Your humble servitor,

JANUS VERRAZZANUS.

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gelio—nella nave Delphina in Normandia in porto di Diepa a di 8 Luglio, 1524.

Humilis Servitor,

JANUS VERRAZZANUS.

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM BARENTZ IN HUDSON'S POSSESSION.

(PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES, v. iii, pp. 518-20.)

I thought good to adde hither for Barents or Barentsons sake, certaine notes which I have found (the one translated, the other written by him) amongst Master Hakluyts Paper.

This was written by William Barentson in a loose paper, which was lent mee by the Reuerend Peter Plancius in Amsterdam, March the seuen and twentieth, 1609.

THE foure and twentieth of August, *stilo nouo*, 1595, wee spake with the Samoieds, and asked them how the land and sea did lye to the east of Way-gates. They sayd, after fiue dayes iourney going north-east, wee should come to a great sea, going south-east. This sea to the east of Way-gats they sayd was called *Marmoria*, that is to say, *a calme sea*. And they of Ward-house haue told vs the same. I asked them if at any time of the yeere it was frozen ouer? They sayd it was. And that sometimes they passed it with sleds. And the first of September 1595, *stilo nouo*, the Russes of the lodie or barke affirmed the same; saying, that the sea is sometimes so frozen, that the lodies or barkes going sometimes to Gielhsidi from Pechora, are forced there to winter: which Gielhsidi was wonne from the Tartars three yeeres past.

For the ebbe and flood there, I can find none; but with the winde so runneth the streame. The third of September, *stilo nouo*, the winde was south-west, and then I found the water higher then with the winde at north north-east. Mine opinion is grounded on experience: that if there bee a passage, it is small, or else the sea could not rise with a southerly winde. And for the better proofe to know if there were a flood and ebbe, the ninth of September, *stilo*

nouo, I went on shoare on the south end of the States Iland, where the crosse standeth, and layd a stone on the brinke of the water, to proue whether there were a tide, and went round about the iland to shoote at a hare; and returning, I found the stone as I left it, and the water neither higher nor lowere: which prooueth, as afore, that there is no flood nor ebbe.

A Treatise of Iver Boty a Gronlander, translated out of the Norsh language into High Dutch, in the yeere 1560. And after out of High Dutch into Low Dutch, by William Barentson of Amsterdam, who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid. The same copie in High Dutch is in the hands of Iodocvs Hondivs, which I haue seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch by Master William Stere, Marchant, in the yeere 1608, for the vse of me Henrie Hudson. William Barentsons Booke is in the hands of Master Peter Plantivs, who lent the same vnto me.

INPRIMIS, it is reported by men of wisedome and vnderstanding borne in Gronland, that from Stad, in Norway, to the east part of Islana, called Horn-nesse, is seuen dayes sayling right west.

Item, men shall know, that between Island and Gronland lyeth a riffe called Gombornse-skare. They were wont to haue there passage from Gronland. But as they report, there is ice vpon the same riffe, come out of the long north bottome, so that we cannot vse the same old passage, as they thinke.

Item, from Lono-nesse, on the east side of Island, to the abouesaid Horn-nesse, is two dayes sayle to the Brimstone Mount.

Item, If you goe from Bergen in Norway, the course is right west, till you bee south of Roke-nesse in Island, and distant from it thirteene miles, or leagues. And with this course you shall come vnder that high land, that layeth in the east part of Groneland, and is called Swafster. A day before you come there, you shall haue sight of a high mount, called Huit-sarke; and betweene Whitsarke and Groneland lyeth a head-land, called Hernoldus Hooke; and thereby lyeth an hauen, where the Norway merchant ships were wont to come; and is called Sound Hauen.

Item, if a man will sayle from Island to Gronland, hee shall set

his course to Snofnesse, which is by west Roke-nesse thirteene miles or leagues, right west, one day and nights sayling, and after south-west to shun the ice that lyeth on Gombornse-skare; and after that one day and night north-west. So shall hee with this course fall right with the abouesayd Swafster, which is high land, vnder which lyeth the aforesayd head-land, called Hernoldus Hooke, and the Sound Hauen.

Item, the easter dorpe of Groneland lyeth east from Hernoldus Hooke, but neere it, and is called Skagen Ford, and is a great village.

Item, from Skagen Ford east lyeth a hauen called Beare Ford: it is not dwelt in. In the mouth thereof lyeth a riffe, so that great ships cannot harbour in it.

Item, there is great abundance of whales; and there is a great fishing for the killing of them there, but not without the bishop's consent, which keepeth the same for the benefit of the cathedrall church. In the hauen is a great swalth; and when the tide doth runne out, all the whales doe runne into the sayd swalth.

Item, east of Beare Ford lyeth another hauen, called Allabong Sound; and it is at the mouth narrow, but farther in very wide: the length whereof is such, that the end thereof is not yet knowne. There runneth no streame. It lyeth full of little iles. Fowles and oxen are there common: and it is playne land on both sides, growne ouer with greene grasse.

Item, east from the icie mountayne lyeth an hauen, called Fendebother; so named, because in Saint Olafes time there was a ship cast away, as the speach hath beene in Groneland, in which ship was drowned one of Saint Olafes men, with others; and those that were saued did burie those that were drowned, and on their graues did set great stone crosses, which wee see at this day.

Item, somewhat more east, toward the ice mountayne, lyeth a high land, called Corse Hought, vpon which they hunt white beares, but not without the bishops leaue, for it belongeth to the cathedrall church. And from thence more easterly, men see nothing but ice and snow, both by land and water.

Now wee shall returne againe to Hernoldus Hooke, where we first began to come to the first towne that lyeth on the east side of

Hernoldus Hooke, called Shagen Ford: and so we will write the names of all that lye on the west side of the ford or sound.

Item, west from Hernoldus Hooke lyeth a dorpe called Kodosford, and it is well built: and as you sayle into the sound, you shall see on the right hand a great sea and a marsh, and into this sea runneth a great streame: and by the marsh and sea standeth a great church, on which the holy crosse is drawne, of colour white: it belongeth to Enelnesse de Hokesong, and the land to Peters Wike.

Item, by Peters Wike lyeth a great dorpe, called Wartsdale, by which lyeth a water or sea of twelue miles or leagues ouer, in which is much fish: and to Peterswike church belongeth Wartsdale Boy or Towne and the villages.

Item, neere this boy or towne lyeth a cloyster or abbey, in which are canons regular; it is dedicated to Saint Olafes and Saint Augustines name. And to it belongeth all the land to the sea-side, and toward the other side of the cloyster.

Item, next Godosford lyeth a ford, called Rompnes Ford: and there lyeth a cloyster of nuns of Saint Benedicts order.

Item, this cloyster, to the bottom of the sea, and to Wegen Nerke, was dedicated to Saint Olafe the king. In this ford lye many small iles. And to this cloyster belongeth halfe the ford and the church. In this sound are many warme waters. In the winter they are intollerable hot, but in the summer more moderate; and many bathing in them are cured of many diseases.

Item, between Rompnes and the next sound, lyeth a great garden, called Vose, belonging to the king. There is also a costly church dedicated to Saint Nicholas. This church had the king before this. Neere it lyeth a sea of fresh water, called , in which is great abundance of fish, without number. And when there falleth much rayne, that the waters doe rise therewith and after fall againe, there remayneth vpon the land much fish drie.

Item, when you sayle out of Emestnes Ford, there lyeth an inlet, called South-woders Wike; and somewhat higher in the same sound, and on the same side, lyeth a little cape, called Bloming; and beyond that lyeth another inwike, called Granwike; and aboue that lyeth a garden, called Daleth, which belongeth to the cathedrall church. And on the right hand, as you sayle out of the

same sound, lyeth a great wood, which pertayneth to the church, where they feede all their cattell, as oxen, kine, and horses. And to the church pertayneth the sound of Emestnes Ford. The high land lying by Emestnes Ford is called the Ramos hayth: so called, because that on those hills doe runne many roe deere, or reyne deere, which they vse to hunt, but not without the bishops leaue. And on this high land is the best stone in all Groneland. They make thereof pots, because fire cannot hurt it. And they make of the same stone fattes or cisternes, that will hold ten or twelue tunnes of water.

Item, west from this lyeth another high land, called the Long High Land: and by another called , whereon are eight great orchards, all belonging to the cathedrall church. But the tenths thereof they give to Warsedall church.

Item, next to this sound lyeth another sound, called Swalster Ford, wherein standeth a church, called Swalster. This church belongeth to all this sound, and to Romse Ford, lying next it. In this sound is a garden belonging to the king, called Saint Henlestate.

Item, next to that lyeth Ericks Ford; and entring therein lyeth an high land called Ericks Hought, which pertayneth the one halfe to Deuers Kerke, and is the first parish church on Groneland, and lyeth on the left hand as you sayle into Ericks Ford: and Deuers Kerke belongeth all to Meydon Ford, which lyeth north-west from Ericks Ford.

Item, farther out then Ericks Ford standeth a church, called Skogel Kerke, which belongeth to all Medford. And farther in the sound standeth a church, called Leaden Kerke. To this church belongeth all thereabout to the sea, and also on the other side as farre as Bousels. There lyeth also a great orchard, called Grote Lead, in which the gusman (that is, a chiefe or bayliffe ouer the boores) doth dwell.

And farther out then Ericks Ford lyeth a ford or sound, called Fossa, which belongeth to the cathedrall church: and the sayd Fossa Sound lyeth as men sayle out towards Ericks Ford; and to the north of it lye two villages, the one called Euer-boy, and the other Forther-boy, because they lye so.

Item, from thence farther north lyeth Breda Ford, and after

that Lormont Ford from that west, and from Lormont Ford to the west is Ice Dorpe. All these are places built, and in them dwell people.

Item, from the easter builded land to the weste. dorpe, is twelue miles or leagues; and the rest is all waste land. In the dorpe, in the west, standeth a church, which in time past belonged to the cathedrall church, and the bishop did dwell there. But new the Skerlengers haue all the west lands and dorps. And there are now many horses, oxen, and kine, but no people, neither Christian nor heathen; but they were all carryed away by the enemie, the Skerlengers.

All this before written was done by one Iuer Boty, borne in Gronland, a principall man in the Bishops Court, who dwelt there many yeeres, and saw and knew all these places. He was chosen by the whole land for captayne, to goe with ships to the west land, to driue away their enemies, the Skerlengers. But hee comming there, found no people, neither Christian nor heathen, but found there many sheepe running, being wilde; of which sheepe they tooke with them as many as they could carrie, and with them returned to their houses. This beforenamed Indo Boty was himselfe with them.

To the north of the west land lyeth a great wildernesse, with clifes or rockes, called Hemel Hatsfelt. Farther can no man sayle, because there lye many swalgen or whirlepooles, and also for the water and the sea.

Item, in Groneland are many siluer hills, and many white beares with red patches on their heads; and also white hawkes, and all sorts of fish, as in other countries.

Item, there is marble stone of all colours, also zeuell stone or the load stone, which the fire cannot hurt, whereof they make many vessels, as pots, and other great vessels.

Item, in Groneland runneth great streames, and there is much snow and ice: but it is not so cold as it is in Island or Norway.

Item, there grow on the high hills, nuts, and acornes, which are as great as apples, and good to eate. There groweth also the best wheate that can grow in the whole land.

This sea card was found in the iles of Fero or Farre, lying betweene Shot-land and Island, in an old reckoning booke, written

aboue one hundred yeeres agoe: out of which this also was all taken.

Item, Punnus and Potharse haue inhabited Island certayne yeeres, and some times haue gone to sea, and haue had their trade in Groneland. Also Punnus did giue the Islanders their lawes, and caused them to bee written; which lawes doe continue to this day in Island, and are called by name Punnus lawes.

VAN DER DONCK'S OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE WAMPUM OR BEAD MONEY OF THE INDIANS, MENTIONED BY HUDSON.

(FROM N. Y. HIST. SOC., N. S., V. i, p. 206.)

THAT there should be no miserly desire for the costly metals among the natives, few will believe: still it is true, the use of gold and silver, or any metallic coin, is unknown among them. The currency which they use in their places to which they resort, is called wampum, the making and preparing of which is free to all persons. The species are black and white; but the black is worth more by one half than the white. The black wampum is made from conch shells, which are to be taken from the sea, or which are cast ashore from the sea twice a year. They strike off the thin parts of those shells, and preserve the pillars or standards, which they grind smooth and even, and reduce the same according to their thickness, and drill a hole through every piece, and string the same on strings, and afterwards sell their strings of wampum in that manner. This is the only article of moneyed medium among the natives with which any traffic can be driven; and it is also common with us in purchasing necessaries, and carrying on our trade. Many thousand strings are exchanged every year for peltries, near the sea-shores, where the wampum is only made, and where the peltries are brought for sale.

TITLE AND PROLEGOMENA TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THE DETECTIO FRETI.

Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti. Sive Transitvs ad Occasum, supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq: Japonem ducturi, Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Narratio Ser^mo. Regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu, in quinta Orbis terrarum parte, cui Avstraliæ Incognitæ nomen est, recens detecto, per Capitaneum Petrum Ferdinandez de Quir. Vnà cum descriptione Terræ Samoiedarvm et Tingoesiorvm, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitæ nuperq: Imperio Moscovitarum subactæ. Amsterodami, Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1612.

Huc quicunq. novas ardes cognoscere terras,
Huc adeas, atq. isto fonte levato sitim.
Hic liber extremos Boreæ Cauriq. recessus,
Et freta iam nautis pervia nosse dabit.
Pervia ; quid renuis ? possunt, qui posse videntur.
Et maiora dedit sapi videre Deus.
Si tamen addubitas, tum tu te confer ad Austrum,
Et lege queis certam fas adhibere fidem.

IN TRACTATUS SEQUENTES PROLEGOMENA AD LECTOREM.

Lvcri et utilitatis spes animos hominum numquam non excitavit ad peregrinas regiones nationesq' lustrandas. Ita pretiosæ illæ nobis à mercatoribus Russis allatæ pelles mercatores nostrates inflammarunt acri quadam cupidine incognitas nobis ipsorum terras, si fieri posset, peragrandi. Profuit ipsis quadam tenus hac in parte iter quoddam a Russis conscriptum, Moscovia Colmogroviam, atque inde Petzoram (ubi incolæ anno Christi 1518 Christianam fidem amplexi sunt), hinc porro ad fluvium Obi, pauloque ulterius

ducens. Quod quidem plurima falsa veris admiscet, puta de Slatibala anu illa (ut fertur) aurea, eiusque filijs, nec non monstuiosis illis trans ipsum Obi hominibus. Transtulit vero descriptionem hanc Russicam, eamque suis de regionibus Moscovitarum libris inseruit Sigismundus ab Herberstein, Imperatoris Maximiliani Orator. Ediditque postea tabulam Russiæ Antonius quidam Widua, adjutus ab Joanne à Latski, Principe quondam Russo, & ob tumultus post obitum Magni Ducis Joannis Basilij in Russia excitatos, in Poloniam profugo. Quæ tabula J. cuidam Copero, Senatori Gedaensi, dicata, Russicisque & Latinis descriptionibus aucta, in lucem prodijt apud Wildam anno Christi 1555. Aliam quoque Russiæ tabulam ediderunt post modum Angli, qui in tractu illo negotiati fuerant. Atque hæ quidem tabulæ, & qualescunque descriptiones, quæque præterea de regionibus hisce comperta sunt, elicuerunt Oliverium quendam Bunellum, domo Bruxella, uti conscenso navigio Euchusano, animum induxerit eo sese conferre. Vbi aliquandiu vagatus, & pellium pretiosarum, vitri Russici, crystallique montani, ut vocant, adfalim nactus, omnium opum suarum scaphæ commissarum in undis fluvij Perzoræ triste fecit naufragium. Quæ tum Anglorum, tum hujus Bunelli, qui & Costinsarcam Novæ Zemlæ lustraverat, navigationes, cum & Batavis nostris, opum Chinensium Cathaicarumque odore allectis, animum accendissent, Nobiles ac Præpotentes Provinciarum Fœderatarum Ordines, duas naves, ductore Joanne Hugonis à Linschot, versus Fretum quod vulgo Weygats, totidemque ductore Guilielmo Bernardi suasu D. Petri Plancij, recto supra Novam Zemblam cursu Septemtrionem versus ituras, destinarunt. Et Guilielmus quidem, cum pervenisset ad altitudinem graduum 77, ac apud Insulas Orangæas terram inter & glaciem esset obsessus, Calendis Augusti domum reversus est: Linschotanus vero & Fretum ipsum emēsus est, & 50 ipsa milliaria ultra illud progressus, tandem & ipse, flantibus fere perpetuis aquilonibus, temporisque oportunitate jam lapsa, coactus ad suos reverti. Anno proxime insecuto, qui fuit Christi 1595, iterum uterque eo cursum instituit, animo signa sua ulteriùs proferendi, vel & navigationem hanc feliciter absolvendi. Sed enim frigoris vehementia & immensis glaciei montibus impediti spe sua frustrati sunt, neque vel ipsum Fretum potuere transmittere, sed ad Insulam Oidinum cum venissent domuitionem

parare coacti sunt, metuentes videlicet, ne totum Fretum glacie tandem obstrueretur Gulielmus anno 1596, tertium repetito cursu non paulo quam primo itinere longius progressus, navim, coagmentatis è glacie montibus superimpositam, eo quc pervenerat loci destituit, in perpetuam extremæ ad Septemtrionem navigationis memoriam. Cuius veri prodigiosam Historiam, dolendum interitum, turbæ que nauticæ in Hollandiam reditum, qui volet, ex ipsorum Ephemeridibus publice extantibus discat.

Nos, ut qualemcunque illam, quam mercatores nostri ex itineribus jam dictis consecuti sunt regionum istarum notitiam, quo ad fieri potest, promoveamus, ex hibernis hic narrationem quamdam super novo Russorum in Tartariæ partibus dominata, quæ præter descriptionem Siberia, situm quoque exponit regionum longe trans Obij ad Ortum vergentium.

Adjunximus huic Siberi Septemtrionaliorisq. Tartariæ descriptioni tabulam quamdam omnium illis adjacentium regionum ex idiomate Russico versam, & multis in partibus cum accuratis Linschotani locorum aliquot delineationibus concordantem. In qua Russi delinearunt nobis universum illum Freto Weygats ab ortu adludentem Oceanum, & simul viam inde Meridionalem Cathaiam ducentem. Sicci autem illa ipsa via videbitur æquo Septemtrionalia, pro ut sane ex ipso tabulæ adspectu apparet: veri simili tamen est, usque ad ipsum Obi, vel alium aliquem majorem fluvium maritimo itinere perveniri posse: cum Russi oras istas navigijs suis obnaviget, inde que vel scaphis, vel & terrestri itinere, tendant in mediterranea, ubi notabilia multa detegi posse, veri simillimum est. Quoniam vero Fretum Weygats per ipsam quoque anni æstatem tantum ad breve tempus apertum est, ut constat ex Linschotani & Gulielmi navigationibus, difficilis admodum foret hæc indagatio. Videtur enim natura cupiditari nostræ coercendæ glaciem ibi & frigus, ceu repagula quædam opposuisse. Nec obstantibus tamen hisce tot peritissimorum naucleorum, Gulielmi Bernardi, Jacobi Heemskerckij, Joannisque Linschotani exemplis, & parum prospecte itineris a Kerchovio quodam, nomine Isaaci Lemerij, in eas oras facti eventu, ausi sunt imperiti quidam homines apud illustrissimos ordines ac rerum maritimarum Consiliarios instare, pro obtinendo itineris ad Aquilonem supra Novam Zemlam de integro reperendi commeatu atque diplomate, temere asserentes, remissius

esse frigus ad 80 & 85, quam ad 72, altitudinis gradus, ac prope convenientes cum Helisæo Rostino doctore Hanoviensi, qui ad calcem libelli, Fœderatis ordinibus apud Belgas inscripti, palam adfirmat, æstivo tempore, quo propius polum accesseris, eo esse calidius, neque posse navigijs ullum a frigore glacieve obstaculum adferri. Quin existimabant insuper nostri homines, ut quidem præ se ferebant, solem in extremo Septemtrione salem potuis generaturum esse, quam glaciem: obliti videlicet, ipsum solem, qui inibi demum operationes suas efficasissime perficit, ubi radios suos ex alto directe in terram exerit, in Aquilonaribus illis locis tota hieme, ipsisque adeo 23 hebdomadis nunquam splendere: quin & bonam æstatis partem usqueadeo deprimi, ut non nisi obliquis radijs terram ipsam illustret, neque brevi illo tempore, quo ad gradus 28 in ipso tantum meridie supra terræ crepidines elevatur, fieri posse ut illos è glacie montes dissolvat. Hac itaque opinione imbuti, anno superiore 1611 anchoram illi solverunt, idque initio statim veris, ne videlicet impedirentur à glacie per æstatem solvenda, magnorumque fluminum ostijs evomenda; quæ nulla quidem ipsis occurrit, sed enim mare, in quo salem se inventuros speraverent, præter opinionem, sua ipsius glacie tam dense invenerunt adstrictum ut nihil plane memoria dignum officere potuerint. Quare glacie præpediti, littora Nova Zemlæ, ubi et Costensarcam lustrarunt, legere, indeque accepto non levi detrimento Kildunam, Lappiæ Insulam pefere, resarciendæ ruinæ coacti sunt. Vnde rursus digressi hibernatum profecti sunt ad littora Novæ Franciæ, sub 44 graduum altitudine. Vbi quidam eorum Præfectus, alioqui fere in triclinio nautico deletescere solitus, cum descendisset in terram, barbarorum sagittis, una cum alijs quinque confectus est, longe quidem extra suam opinionem, qua persuasus erat se per extremum Septemtrionem longinquo supra Novam Zemlam cursu, ad pridem quæsitas Cathatam Chinamque, levi negotio perventurum. Et ex hoc comitatu altera navium cum Præfecto suo reversa est, altera vero Joannes Cornelij cognomento Antropophagus, valde a peritia rei nauticæ commendatus, rursus ad Aquilonem profectus est, qui oportuno tempore plura quam hactenus nobis comperta sint, detocturus speratur, cujusque navigationis eventum nos brevi narraturos tibi confidimus. Quoniâ vero etiam post navigationes prædictas Guilielmi Bernardi, viam illam aquilonarem aliquoties Angli adhuc

tentaverant, visum fuit ante triennium D. D. Indicæ navigationis Præfectis eo mittere quendam M. Hudsonum Anglum, qui cum nullam ad Ortum viam, sed ejus vicem Oceanum invenisset glacie prorsus obstructum, ad Occasum deflexit, unde sine ullo profectu in Angliam appulit. Emissus autem de novo ab Anglis, cursu quidem longe prosperiore, at deteriore tamen successu usus est: cum enim post varios labores ultra Terram de Baccalaos 300, circiter milliaria Occasum versus emensus esset, inibique ad altitudine graduum 52 jam hibernasset, & ulterius tendere certus esset, ecce non tantum ipse, sed & omnis eius Senatus (ut sic dixerim) nauticus scaphæ ab importunis nautis impositus, & in undas demissus, ipsi sine more domum reversi sunt. Nos vero notas ejus ad calcem hujus libelli adjunximus, certiora per naves eo jam missas, imò optatum de Freto prorsus pervio nuntium expectâtes. Quæ naves hoc ipso æternam sibi famã ac gloriam paraturæ sunt: tot potentibus vitis, sagacissimisque Naucleris tot jam annos compendiosam ad Carthaiæ, Chinæ, Moluccarum, Pernanorumque populorum divitias adfectantibus viam: inter quos, præter nostrates (qui in Aquilone & Oriente sua ediderunt specimina) fuere Martinus Forbisherus & Joannes Davisius, qui annis Christi 1585, 86, 87, inter Terram novam atque Groenlandiam Septemtrionem versus currentes pervenerunt ad gradus 72, sed glacie præpediti, re plane infecta, ad suos reversi sunt.

Confirmatur hæc nuper inventi ab Hudsono supra Terram Novam transitus sive Freti spes, Virginianorum Floridanorumque concordibus testimonijs, diserte adfumantium, terras suas ab Occasu æstivo allui vasto Oceano, in quo & naves Anglicanarum similes viderint. Legere quoque est apud Josephum Acostam cap. 12, lib. 3, natural. Indiæ Occident. Histor. Hispanos sibi habere persuasum, Thomam Candium Anglum certam habuisse Freti istius notitiam. Et feruntur Hispani viam hanc sedulo occultare, qua eorum nonnulli post expugnatas à se Philippinas in Hispaniam sunt reversi. Atque hinc adeò est, quod Philippus II, ut ex fide nobis relatum est extruendam curavit validam illam arcem ad mare, quod vulgo appellant Vermeis, supra Novam Granatam, quo videlicet impediret, ne aut nostrates, aut alij sui hostes, opes illas immensas, quas ad mare del Zur pacifice possidet, per hanc viam aliquando venirent direptum. Quod si ergo hæc via responduit

suis principijs, compendium sane hominibus nostris futura est, non ad Chinas duntaxat, Moluccas, atque Peruviam, sed ad eas etiam gentes, quæ Australem Maris del Zur tractum incolunt, perlustrandas, exploranduſque quosnam inibi portus & merces invenire sit. Neque defuturum est usquam ijs, qui ad iter hoc se accinxerint, unde refocillentur, nauseamque marinam excutiant, sive ad Insulas illas accedant, quas lustravit Antistes Quitensis (de quibus constat nobis ex relatione nautæ cuisdam nostrates, Episcopi in itinere comitis, qui & Amplissimo Barneveldio, & Indicæ navigationis Præfectis multa huc pertinetia denarravit) sive ad Continentem. De quo tractu exhibemus tibi discursum seu relationem Ducis cujusdam Hispani, sperantes id non futurum ingratum ijs qui ad commercia in ultimis illis Mundi partibus exercenda aspirant, quive tenentur globi terrestris & Incolarum ejus magis magisque cognoscendorum adfectu. Cujus quidem cognitionis studium ut in animo tuo accrescat, donec solide perficiatur, utque &opes tibi & immortalem gloriam adferat, omnibus votis exopto.

Hesselius Gerardus Assumensis
Philogeographus.

TITLE AND PROLEGOMENA TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE DETECTIO FRETI.

Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti. Sive, Transitus ad Occasum suprá terras Americanas, in Chinam atq: Japonem ducturi, Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Exegesis Regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu recens detecto, in quinta Orbis parte, cui nomen, Australis Incognita. Cum descriptione Terrarum Samoiedarum, et Tingœsiorum, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitarum, nuperq: sceptro Moscovitarum adscitarum. Amsterodami, Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1613.

LIBER AD LECTORUM.

Qui cupis ignotas Lector cognoscere terras,
Corpore quas fulgens contegit Vrsa suo,
Et simul extremos Borcæ Cauriq. recessus,
Et freta iam nautis pervia fluctivagis.
Quasq. Samojedus commutet vellere merces,
Quam late Moschus proferat Imperium.
Impiger Hudsonius freta quæ petretraverit, et quæ
Restat adhuc Batavis gloria Martigenis.
Me pretio parvo redimas animoq. revolvas,
Sim licet exiguus commoda magna feram.

AD LECTOREM PROLEGOMENA, IN TRACTATUS SEQUENTES.

Vt antehac novæ terrarum detectiones, laboriosissimæque navigationes, tam Hispanorum, quam Anglorum, necnon Batavorum, maximo novitatum studiosorum oblectamine, in lucem editæ fuere: Non alienum a publico commodo duxi, in Theatrum orbis hàc tabulam Præfecti H. Hudsonis producere de navigatione ipsius Americam, in Chinam, & Japan: maxime cum viderem eam a præstantissimis viris magnoperè expeti: Ne autem ob brevitatem,

exiguitatemque apud nonnullos vilesceret opusculum hoc adjunxi historiam Ducis Petri Fernandez de Queiros, quam in libello supplici Regi Hispaniæ exhibito, narrat de regionibus Meridionalibus, detectis in mari del Zur; eam nonnulli magni fecerunt, aliqui quibus de certitudine rei constat, veram esse asserunt. Octavius Pisanus, in sua totius Orbis tabula, quam inversa delineatione, circulo comprehendit, de Regionibus a Petro Fernandez de Queiros detectis, delineationem suam se cōparasse ait, à Nauclero quodam, statuitque eas à parte occidentali, Limæ, cidado de los reyos in Peru. Viginti quinque gradus in longitudinem, qui superant tricenta, & quinquaginta miliaria Germanica, extenditurque secundum illius delineationem, plus quam quingenta miliaria Germanica occidentem versus, at versus Meridiem extenditur usque à octogesimum gradum ab Æquatore. Sed cum superiori Anno ab Illustri Viro Emanuele à figueiredo, Geographiæ, & Hydrographiæ Professore Vlixbonæ, nunciatum esset, Petrum Fernandez à Queiros nihil Geographiæ dignum prodidisse, sibiq: relationem tantum obscuram delatam esse, situ, latitudine regionum carentem: insuper hoc adderet, se diligentiùs inquæsiturum, num quid apud eum esset, quod usui esse possit; & adhuc cum esse in Curia vel Aula Regia Madritij, nec quid certi de profectione ejus statutum esse; Exemplar Octavij Pisani secutus non sum, maxime cum hic ex amicis quidam, affirmet apud se esse delineationem Regionum, aut Insularum novitu detectarum in Mari del Zur, quam brevi impetrabimus, eamq: cum Octavij Pisani delineatione conferemus. Cum vero apud Batavos ferbuerit aliquandiu studium investigandi transitum, in Chinam & Japoniam, eumque tentarint nonnulli Septemtrionem versus, nonnulli per Weygats & mare Tartaricum, operæ pretium duxi, in publicum proferre, quæ a Russis proxima loca incolentibus detecta sunt, Tabula ab Isaaco Massa ex Idiomate Russorum translata, ut quid de oris Somojedarum sit sentiendum certo constet. Assiduæ etiam navigationes Cantabrorum, Batavorum, Anglorum in Septentrionum, venatione balænarum, & cuniculorum marinorum, gaudentium, quos Morsas idiomate propriò Russi nominant videntur quid certi promittere, de oris Novæ Semlæ, Nieulandiæ, usq: ad Groenlandiam adhuc incognitis, sed de futuris contingentibus non est determinata veritas.

A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT JEANNIN TO HENRY IV OF FRANCE, CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NEGOCIATIONS WITH HENRY HUDSON, THROUGH ISAAC LE MAIRE.

DATED THE HAGUE, THE 21ST OF JANUARY, 1609.

SIR,—Some time ago, I made, by your Majesty's order, overtures to an Amsterdam merchant, named Isaac Le Maire, a wealthy man of considerable experience in the East India trade. He offered to make himself useful to your Majesty in matters of this kind, and intends to form (for this purpose) an association with some other merchants. He also wishes to engage the services of some mariners, pilots, and sailors, acquainted with northern navigation, whose services he has provisionally retained. He has now repeatedly urged me to give him an answer, and I have always told him that your Majesty could not come to any decision in this affair before it had been settled, whether the present negotiations to obtain a truce for the States General would be successful or not.

SIRE,—J'ai ci-devant conféré par commandement de votre Majesté, et sur les lettres qu'il lui a plu m'écrire, avec un marchand d'Amsterdam, nommé Isaac Le Maire, lequel est homme riche et bien entendu au fait du commerce des Indes d'Orient, désireux d'y servir votre Majesté, sur les ouvertures que je lui en ai faites, et de joindre avec lui d'autres marchands, comme aussi des pilotes, mariniers et matelots expérimentés en telles navigations, qu'il dit avoir empêchés de prendre parti dès le temps que je lui en parlai. Or, comme il m'en a pressé plusieurs fois, je lui ai toujours dit que votre Majesté n'y pouvait prendre aucune résolution qu'après celle des Etats, et le traité de trève qu'on poursuit à présent fait ou rompu : ce qu'il juge être bien véritable, et s'est aussi

Le Maire considered this to be perfectly fair, and was satisfied with the answer. But a few days ago he sent to me his brother, to inform me that an English pilot, who has twice sailed in search of a northern passage, has been called to Amsterdam by the East India Company, to tell them what he had found, and whether he hoped to discover that passage. They had been well satisfied with his answer, and had thought they might succeed in the scheme. They had, however, been unwilling to undertake at once the said expedition, and they had only remunerated the Englishman for his trouble, and had dismissed him, with the promise of employing him next year, 1610.

The Englishman, having thus obtained his leave, Le Maire, who knows him well, has since conferred with him, and has learnt his opinions on these subjects; with regard to which the Englishman had also held intercourse with Plancius, a great geographer and clever mathematician. Plancius maintains, according to the reasons of his science, and from the information given him, both by the Englishman and other pilots, who have been engaged in the same navigation, that there must be in the northern parts a passage corsesponding to the one found near the south pole by Magellan. One of these pilots has been there, three

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contenté de cette réponse; mais il m'envoya ici son frère, il y a quelques jours, pour me faire entendre qu'un pilote anglois, lequel a été deux fois en mer pour rechercher le passage du nord, auroit été mandé à Amsterdam par la Compagnie des Indes d'Orient, pour apprendre de lui ce qu'il en auroit reconnu, et s'il espéroit de trouver ce passage; de la réponse duquel eux étoient demeurés forts contents, et en opinion que cette espérance pouvoit réussir. Ils n'avoient toutefois voulu pour lors faire la dite entreprise, mais contenté seulement l'Anglois, et renvoyé avec promesse qu'il les viendroit trouver en l'année suivante 1610. Ce congé lui ayant été donné, Le Maire, qui le connoît fort bien, auroit depuis conféré avec lui, et entendu ses raisons, dont il a aussi communiqué avec Plancius, qui est grand géographe et bon mathématicien, le quel soutient, par les raisons de son art, et de ce qu'il a appris tant de cet Anglois que d'autres pilotes qui ont fait la même navigation, tout ainsi que du côté du midi on a trouvé en la mer du Sud, approchant le pôle antarctique, un passage qui est le détroit de Magellan, qu'il y en doit pareillement avoir un autre du côté du nord. L'un des pilotes, qui

(thirteen) years ago, engaged in the same search, and has gone as far as Nova Zemla, which is situated under the seventy-third degree of latitude, on the coast of the sea of Tartary towards the north. This pilot has declared that he was at that time not sufficiently experienced, and that instead of penetrating into the open sea, which is never frozen, on account of its depth, and of the great force of its currents and waves, he kept near the coast. He there found the sea frozen, and both he and his companions were prevented from penetrating any further, and were obliged to return.

The Englishman also reports, that having been to the north as far as eighty degrees, he has found that the more northwards he went, the less cold it became; and that whilst in Nova Zembla, the land was barren, and there were none but carnivorous animals of prey, like bears, foxes, and the like, he had found under the eighty-first degree grass on the ground, and animals that lived on it. Plancius confirms this by scientific reasons, and says, that near the pole the sun shines for five months continually; and,

fut aussi, il y a trois[1] ans, employé en cette même recherche, et passa jusqu'à Nova-Zembla, qui est à soixante-treize degrès de latitude en la côte de la mer Tartarique, tirant au nord, a declaré que, pour n'être lors assez experimenté en cette navigation, au lieu d'entrer avant en pleine mer, où elle n'est jamais gelée à cause de la profondeur et de la grande impétuosité de ses flots et vagues, il se contenta de côtoyer les bords, où, ayant trouvé la mer gelée, lui et ses compagnons furent arrêtés et contraints de s'en retourner sans passer outre.

L'Anglois a encore rapporté qu'ayant été du côté du nord jusqu'à quatre-vingt-un degrés, il a trouvé que plus il approchoit du nord, moins il y avoit de froidure, et au lieu que vers Nova-Zembla la terre n'étoit couverte d'herbe et n'y avoit sinon des bêtes qui vivent de chair et de proie, comme ours, renards et autres semblables, il avoit trouvé, èsdits quatre-vingt-un degrès, de l'herbe sur la terre, et des bêtes qui en vivent: ce que Plancius confirme par raison, et dit que près du pôle, le soleil luisant sur la terre cinq mois continuels, encore que les rayons d'icelui

[1] This *trois* ought probably to be *treize*. The expedition meant by Jeannin must be that of Barents in 1596, this being the last Dutch expedition to the north-east previous to 1609.

although his rays are weak, yet on account of the long time they continue, they have sufficient strength to warm the ground, to render it temperate, to accommodate it for the habitation of men, and to produce grass for the nourishment of animals. He compares it to a small fire, which is but lighted, and then immediately extinguished. He also adds, that one ought not to be satisfied with the opinion of the ancients, who considered the regions round the poles as uninhabitable, on account of their cold, and that they may have been mistaken in this respect, as much as they have been with regard to the tropics, which they also considered as uninhabitable on account of their great heat. For the tropics have nevertheless been proved to be habitable, temperate, fertile, and favourable to the existence of man: and there is more heat on the borders of the tropics than near the line. For this reason, Plancius thinks that the cold increases (as you proceed from the north pole), and is greatest under the seventieth degree; but that passing nearer to the pole it becomes less. Thus the Englishman and other pilots, who have gone to these regions, have found it to be; and they conclude, that to find the northern passage with greater ease, we ought not to sail along the coasts in

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y soient foibles, néanmoins, à cause du long temps qu'ils y demeurent, ils ont assez de force pour échauffer le terroir, et le rendre tempéré et commode pour l'habitation des hommes, produire herbe et nourrir bétail; alléguant cette similitude d'un petit feu qui ne feroit qu'être allumé et aussitôt éteint. Il y ajoute aussi qu'il ne se faut arrêter à l'opinion des anciens, qui estimoient la terre près des deux pôles inhabitable à cause de sa froidure, et qu'ils se peuvent aussi bien tromper qu'en ce qu'ils ont dit la zone torride être inhabitable à cause de sa grande chaleur, qu'on reconnaît néanmoins par expérience être habitée, fort tempérée, fertile, et commode pour la vie des hommes, et qu'il y a aussi beaucoup plus de chaleur sous les tropiques du Cancer et du Capricorne que sous la zone torride; et par cette même raison, Plancius juge que la froidure croît, et est toujours plus grande jusqu'au soixante-sixième degrès, mais qu'en passant plus outre devers le pôle, elle devient moindre, et ainsi l'ont trouvé l'Anglois et d'autres pilotes, les quels ont ci-devant fait tels voyages, dont ils concluent que, pour trouver le passage du nord avec plus de facilité, au lieu de rechercher les côtes de la mer à soixante-dix,

the 70, 71, 72, and 73 degrees, as the Dutch have done; but that, on the contrary, we ought to advance into the open sea, and so go as far as to the 81, 82, and 83 degrees, or even further, if necessary; because the sea not being frozen in that latitude, they trust to be able to find the passage; and then sailing eastwards, to pass through the Straits of Anian, and then following the east coast of Tartary, so go to the Kingdom of Cathay, to China; to the islands of Japan, and also to the Spice islands, and the Philippines. For east and west join on account of the spherical shape of our earth. This whole voyage, both out and home, can be finished in six months, without approaching any of the harbours and fortresses of the King of Spain; whilst by the road, round the Cape of Good Hope, which is now in common use, one generally requires three years, and one is besides exposed to meet and to fight the Portuguese.

He proposed to me in his overtures with regard to the northern passage, that your Majesty might undertake the search openly, and in your Majesty's name, as a glorious enterprise, or else under the name of some private man, whose success, if good, would not fail

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soixante-onze, soixante-douze ou soixante-treize degrès, comme les Hollandais ont fait ci-devant, il se faut avancer en pleine mer, et monter jusqu'à quatre-vingt-un, quatre-vingt-deux et quatre-vingt-trois degrès, ou plus, s'il est besoin, ès quels lieux la mer n'étant point gelée, ils se promettent qu'on pourra trouver ce passage, et par icelui, en tirant vers l'orient, passer le détroit d'Anian, et suivant la côte orientale de Tartarie, aller au royaume du Cattay, à la Chine, aux îles du Japon, comme aussi, attendu que l'orient et l'occident aboutissent l'un à l'autre, à cause de la rondeur de la terre, aller par même moyen aux Moluques et aux Philippines; lequel voyage, et toute cette navigation, tant pour aller que pour retourner, pourroient être faits en six mois, sans approcher d'aucuns ports et forteresses du roi d'Espagne; au lieu qu'à le faire par le cap de Bonne-Espérance, qui est le chemin ordinaire qu'on tient à présent, on y met ordinairement près de trois ans, et si on est sujet aux rencontres et incursions des Portugois.

Il me proposoit donc cette ouverture du passage du nord pour savoir si votre Majesté auroit agréable de l'entreprendre ouvertement, et en son nom, comme chose fort glorieuse, et qui lui acquerroit une grande louange envers la postérité, ou bien sous le nom de quelque particulier,

to be attributed to the king. Le Maire offered, in the name of his brother Isaac, to furnish the vessel and the crew, unless your Majesty should wish to employ some of her own men, together with those whom he would send out, and who are experienced in this kind of navigation. He says, that to execute this enterprise, he would require but three or four thousand crowns at the utmost, which money he wishes to obtain from your Majesty, because he, who is but a private man, would not lay out so large a sum; nor does he dare to speak about it to any one, because the East India Company fears above every thing to be forestalled in this design. Therefore, Isaac Le Maire would not converse about this matter with the Englishman except in secret. He also adds, that if this passage be discovered, it will greatly facilitate the means of forming an association to traffic with all these countries; and that more people will engage their capital in the new society, than in the East India Company, which is already in existence. The East India Company will not even have a right to complain, because the charter granted to them by the States General authorises them to sail only round the Cape of Good Hope, and not by the north. Of this latter passage the States have reserved to themselves the right

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dont on ne laisseroit de lui attribuer l'honneur si le succès en étoit bon, offrant de la part de son frère, de fournir le vaisseau et les hommes, si non que votre Majesté y en veuille aussi employer quelques-uns des siens avec ceux qu'il y mettra, les quels sont expérimentés en tels voyages, disant que, pour exécuter cette entreprise, il ne faut que trois ou quatre mille écus au plus, lesquels il désire tirer de votre Majesté, pour ce que lui, qui n'est qu'un particulier, n'y voudroit employer cette somme, et n'en ose communiquer à personne, d'autant que la Compagnie des Indes d'Orient craint sur toutes choses qu'on les prévienne en ce dessein, et qu'à cette occasion son frère n'avoit oser parler à l'Anglois qu'en secret. Il dit encore que si ce passage est trouvé et découvert, qu'il facilitera bien fort le moyen de faire une compagnie pour aller en tous les lieux susdits, et que plus de gens y mettront leurs fonds qu'en l'autre qui est déjà faite, sans que la Compagnie s'en puisse plaindre, attendu que l'octroi qu'elle a obtenu des Etats n'est que pour y aller du côté du cap de Bonne-Espérance, non de celui du nord, dont les Etats se sont reservés le pouvoir de disposer au cas que le passage puisse en être

of granting the privilege in case it should be discovered. And in order to encourage some bold pilots to undertake this search, they promised a reward of 80,000 livres to the first discoverer.

I told the brother of Le Maire who had made me these overtures, and I have also written to him, that I would immediately submit the matter to your Majesty, to know your pleasure, and that I would inform him of it as soon as possible; for he says, that if one wishes to engage in this voyage in the present year, one must begin it in March at the very latest, if any success is to hoped from it. Others who have before begun it in July, have suffered greatly, and have been overtaken by the winter. Having also been informed that Plancius had come to the Hague two days after the above conversation, I invited him to call upon me, in order to speak with him. This I have done, without, however, letting him know that Le Maire had made overtures to me, for Le Maire wishes nobody to be aware of it. Therefore I have spoken to Plancius only in the way of a scientific discussion, on the northern passage, and as if I were desirous to instruct myself, and to learn what he knows about it, or what he concludes on scientific grounds. He has confirmed to me all the above facts,

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trouvé, et pour inviter quelques pilotes courageux de se hasarder à en faire la recherche, promis vingt-quatre mille livres de loyer à celui qui en seroit le premier inventeur.

J'ai dit au frère de Le Maire, qui m'en a communiqué de sa part, et lui ai aussi écrit que j'en donnerois incontinent avis à votre Majesté pour en savoir sa volonté, et la lui faire entendre au plus tôt, attendu qu'il dit, si on veut penser à ce voyage dès cette année, qu'il le faut commencer en mars au plus tard pour en espérer bon succès, et que les autres qui l'ont ci-devant fait en juillet s'en sont mal trouvés, et ont été surpris de l'hiver. Ayant aussi été averti que Plancius étoit venu à la Haye deux jours après avoir communiqué au frère de Le Maire, je le mandai aussitôt pour en conférer avec lui, comme j'ai fait, sans toutefois lui faire connoître que Le Maire m'en eût fait parler, ni que votre Majesté eût aucun dessein d'entreprendre cette recherche; car le dit sieur Le Maire ne désire pas que personne en sache rien: aussi n'en ai-je parlé à Plancius que par forme de discours, et comme étant curieux de m'instruire et d'apprendre ce qu'il en sait, et juge par raison pouvoir être fait; lequel m'a confirmé tout ce que dessus, et qu'il avoit excité

and he also told me that it was he who incited the late Jacob Heemskerk, the admiral of the fleet which beat the Spaniards in the Straits of Gibraltar, to undertake the above enterprise. Heemskerk had consented to do so, and Plancius had expected great achievements from him, because Heemskerk was greatly experienced in navigation, and was anxious to acquire the honour of finding a passage through the Arctic Regions, like Magellan, who had discovered the passage to the South Sea. But Heemskerk fell in that battle in the Straits of Gibraltar.

It belongs to your Majesty to command me what I am to do in this affair. The truth is, that one cannot guarantee the success of this enterprise with certainty; but yet, it is also true, that Le Maire has for a long time inquired into the chances of the undertaking, and that he is generally considered to be an able and industrious man. Besides, the risk would not be very great. When Ferdinand of Spain received the offer of Columbus, and caused three ships to be fitted out for him, to sail to the West Indies, the proposal seemed still more hazardous, and all the other potentates, to whom he had applied, had laughed at him, considering his success as impossible, and yet he has obtained such great results. It is also the opinion of Plancius, and of other

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feu Amsquerque, amiral de la flotte qui fit l'exploit du détroit de Gibraltar, de faire cette entreprise, lequel s'y étoit résolu, dont il espéroit bien, pour ce que le dit Amsquerque étoit fort entendu aux navigations, et désireux d'acquérir cet honneur, comme Magellan avoit fait découvrant le passage du côté de la mer du Sud; mais il mourut en ce combat. C'est à votre Majesté de me commander ce qu'il lui plaît que je fasse en cet endroit. La vérité est qu'on ne peut répondre du succès de cette entreprise avec certitude; mais il est bien vrai que dès long temps Le Maire s'est informé de ce qu'on pouvait espérer de telle entreprise, et qu'il est tenu pour homme avisé et industrieux; puis on n'y hasarderoit pas beaucoup. Quand Ferdinand reçut l'avis de Christophe Colomb, et lui fit équiper trois navires pour aller au voyage des Indes d'Occident, l'entreprise sembloit encore pour lors plus incertaine, et tous les autres potentats aux quels cet homme s'étoit adressé s'en étoient moqués, jugeant son entreprise impossible; et toute-fois elle a produit un si grand fruit. C'est aussi l'avis de Plancius et d'autres géographes,

geographers, that in the northern parts there are many countries which have not yet been discovered, and which God may be keeping for the glory and the profit of other princes, unwilling to give every thing to Spain alone. Even, were nothing to come of this search, yet it would always be honourable to have undertaken it, and the regret will not be very great since so little is risked.

This letter having been terminated, and I being ready to send it to your Majesty, Le Maire has again written to me, and has sent to me the memoir, which is joined to the present letter, which also contains an ample discussion of the above subject. He also writes to me, that some members of the East India Company, who had been informed that the Englishman had secretly treated with him, had become afraid that I might wish to employ him for the discovery of this passage. For this reason, they have again treated with him about his undertaking such an expedition in the course of the present year. The directors of the Amsterdam chamber have written to the other chambers of the same company, to request their approval; and should the others refuse, the Amsterdam chamber will undertake the expedition at their own risk. Le Maire, nevertheless, persists in advising your Majesty to

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qui ont écrit que du côté du nord il y a encore beaucoup de terres qui n'ont été découvertes, lesquelles Dieu peut réserver à la gloire et au profit d'autres princes, n'ayant voulu tout donner à la seule Espagne. Quand même il n'en succéderoit rien, sera toujours chose louable de l'avoir entrepris, et le repentir n'en sera jamais grand, puisqu'on y hasarde si peu.

Cette lettre étant achevée, et moi près de l'envoyer à votre Majesté, Le Maire m'a derechef écrit, et envoyé le mémoire qui est ci-joint, lequel contient un discours assez ample, ensemble les raisons de ce que dessus. Il me mande pareillement qu'aucuns de la Compagnie des Indes, ayant été avertis que l'Anglois avoit conféré secrètement avec lui, sont entrés en appréhension qu'il s'en vouloit servir et l'employer lui même pour découvrir ce passage, qu'à cette occasion ils ont de nouveau traité avec lui pour entreprendre la dite navigation dès cette année, ayant ceux de la chambre d'Amsterdam écrit à cet effet aux autres chambres qui sont de la même compagnie pour le faire approuver, avec déclaration, s'ils le refusent, qu'ils entreprendont eux seuls. Le Maire ne laisse pourtant exhorter votre Majesté à cette entreprise, me mandant

engage in this enterprise, telling me that he has at his disposal a pilot, who has already been engaged in a similar voyage,[1] and who is more experienced and more capable than the Englishman.

It belongs to your Majesty to order what I am to do. I have had several conferences with other men about expeditions to the West and East Indies, and I feel confident, that when it will please your Majesty to take the matter into serious consideration, with the intention of profiting by it, there will be means of obtaining very able and experienced men. There are also many rich merchants who will gladly join in the commerce with East India, and yet more willingly if this northern passage be found; but as to the West Indies, they all think that far greater armaments will be required. It is true that the voyage is also shorter, and those who have some knowledge of the intercourse which may be established with those parts, promise great success. They also prove this by such good reasons, that we may well believe them.[2]

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qu'il a un pilote, lequel a déjà fait ce même voyage, et est plus experimenté et capable que l'Anglois. C'est à elle de commander son intention. J'ai eu plusieurs conférences avec d'autres, soit pour les voyages des Indes d'Orient ou d'Occident, et suis assuré, quand il lui plaira d'y penser à bon escient, et pour en tirer du fruit, qu'il y aura moyen de lui faire avoir de très-bons hommes, et fort expérimentés; qu'il y a aussi de riches marchands lesquels seront de la partie pour le commerce des Indes d'Orient, et plus volontiers encore si ce passage du nord est trouvé : mais, quant aux Indes d'Occident, ils tiennent tous qu'il y faut employer un plus grand appareil de forces. Il est vrai que le voyage est aussi beaucoup plus court ; et ceux qui ont quelque connoissance des entreprises qu'on y peut dresser, en promettant tout bon succès, dont ils discourent avec de si bonnes raisons, qu'il y a sujet d'y ajouter foi ; j'en attendrai ses commandemens, priant Dieu, Sire, qu'il donne à sa Majesté et à sa Royale famille tout heur et prospérité. Votre etc.

P. JEANNIN.

De la Haye ce vingt-cinquième Janvier 1609.

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[1] Probably Nai.

[2] The principal advocate of the West Indian enterprise was William Usselinex, who at that very time published several very eloquent pamphlets in its defence. He is most probably the person referred to by Jeannin.

I am expecting your Majesty's commands, praying God, sire, that he may give to your Majesty and to the whole Royal family all happiness and prosperity.

P. JEANNIN.

The Hague, the 25th of January, 1609.

EXTRACTS CONCERNING A SHIP BOOK FOUND AT AMSTERDAM BY JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, ESQ.

I. FROM BRODHEAD, REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, QUOTED BY O'CALLAGHAN, HIST. OF NEW NETHERL. I, p. 33.[b]

THE only trace of this voyage that was to be discovered in the papers of the East India Company, consisted of a memorandum in one of the ship books, stating the fact that the yacht *Halve Maan*, of forty lasts burden, had been sent toward the north in the year 1608.

II. FROM BRODHEAD, HIST. OF N. YORK, p. 41.

The subsequent career of the *Half Moon* may perhaps interest the curious. The small ship book before referred to, which I found in 1841, in the Company's archives at Amsterdam, besides recording the return of the yacht on the 15th of July 1610, states that, on the 9th of May, 1611, she sailed in company with other vessels to the East Indies under the command of Laurens Reael, and that, on the 6th of March, 1615, she was wrecked and lost on the island of Mauritius.

[1] Great efforts have been made to procure facsimiles of these two documents, but in vain. The editor of the present volume has, however, received from Holland a MS. copy of the first document, from the above quoted privately printed work of Mr. Murphy. But as Mr. Murphy seemed desirous not to let the writer of the present pages obtain a glimpse of that pamphlet, it would have been contrary to the rules of literary intercourse to take from him in secret what he would not communicate openly. The title of Mr. Murphy's pamphlet, together with a descriptive note from a catalogue of Mr. Fr. Muller, of Amsterdam, is to be found in our bibliographical list.

EXTRACTS FROM A CHARTER GRANTED TO THE COMPANY OF THE MERCHANTS DISCOVERERS OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE,

apud Bletsoe, July 26th, 1612.

A. *Beginning.*

JAMES, by the grace of God king of England, etc. Whereas, we are credibly informed that our cozens and councellors, Henry Charles Earl of Northampton, keeper of the privy seale; Charles Earl of Nottingham, admirall of England; Thomas Earl of Suffolk, chamberlain of our own household; our right trusty and well beloued cozen Henry Earl of Southampton; William Earl of Salisbury, our right trusty and well beloued Theophilus Lord Walden, Sir Thomas Smith Maunsell, Sir Walter Hope, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir James Lancerote, Knights; Rebecca Lady Romney, Francis Jones, one of the aldermen of our city of London; John Wolstenholme, Esq., John Edred Robert Sandy, William Greenwell, Nicholas Seats, Hovet Stapers, William Russell, John Mericks, Abraham Chamberleine, Philippe Burlomathis, merchants of the cittie of London; the Muscovy Company and the East India Company of the sixth voyage, did in Aprill one thousand six hundred and tene, with great charge sett fourth a shippe called the *Discoverye*, and certaine persons under the command of Henry Hudson to search and find out a passage by the north-west of America to the sea of Sur, commonly called the south Sea, and have in that voyage found a streight or narrow sea by the which they hope and purpose to advance a trade to the great kingdoms of Tartaria, China, Japan, Solomons Islands, Chili, the Philippins and other countrys in or upon the said sea . . .

B. *Summary of the grant (at the bottom of the charter).*

This bill conteyneth your Majesty's grant unto the merchants of London, discoverers of the north-west passage, to be made and

treated a corporate body, and to be invested with powers and capacities thereunto incident, so that the trade through that passage may be managed with some order and government, and not loosely at the discretion of every private adventurer. The frame and constitutions of this company is not restrained to any number certain, nor confined to any particular citty, town or place, nor tending to any degree of monopoly. The Prince is the supreme protector, under your Majesty, of this company. The custom subsidy, and impost accruing to your Majesty of all goods and merchandize shipped outwards and homewards through the said passage, in the 7th year after the date of the present patent (by which time it is conceived the trade may settle and growe somewhat beneficiall) are therein graunted to the first discoverers, in consideration of their charges in the discovery; and the like graunt to Captain Button, and the masters and marines in the two shippes lately sett forth for the perfecting of the said discoverye, of the customs, subsidy and impost happening in the 5th year after the date of the present patent (which as supposed will be a lesse matter), in consideration of their services therein.

EXTRACTS FROM RAFN'S ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ, p. 295.

GRIPLA.

Nunc dicendum est, quid e regione Groenlandiæ objaceat et recessibus, ante commemoratis. Furdustrandæ nomen terræ est, ubi tantum gelu est, ut quantum scire datur, inhabituri non possit; ab ea austrum versus est Hellulandia, regio Scrælingorum appellata; inde brevi spatio abest Vinlandia Bona, quam nonnulli ex Africa protendi aestimant. Inter Vinlandiam et Groenlandiam est Ginnungayap, quod influit ex mari dicto oceano, totum terrarum orbem ambiente.

P. 300. DESCRIPTIO GRŒNLANDIÆ AUCTORE IVARE BARDI, folio.

(TREATISE OF IVER BOTY.)

Hæ relationes servatæ sunt ab archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi Erico Walckendorph, qui anno 1516, novam ad Grœnlandiam iterum inveniendam expeditionem moliens, varia ad hujus terræ descriptionem pertinentia collegit. Præter supra, p. 282, allata manuscripta et editiones, quarum Extrupii ex manuscripto Regiæ Dresdensis Bibliothecæ, G. No. 52a, signato est desumta, aliæ versiones quædam adhiberi merentur. [*Here follows the title in English, as to be found on page* 230.]

Quam multifariam nominum topographicorum in Danicis manuscriptis, et graviorem quidem in duobus horum vetustissimis editionibus depravationem consideremus, similis, et ex aliqua parte pessima, confusio in translatione, quæ tria porro diversi generis idiomata, Germaniæ, Belgiæ et Angliæ permeaverat, minime erit miranda. At nihilominus dictam versionem vetustissimo cuidam originalis exemplari, quod bonas quasdam lectiones servaverat, superinstructam esse cernimus, quam igitur (P notatam) in hac collatione negligere noluimus. Addidit hujus transcripti auctor (p. 230) ipsam relationem in insulis Fiereyensibus fuisse repertam, *in an old reckoning book written above one hundred yeeres ago.*

OTHER NAMES OF HUDSON'S STRAIT, HUDSON'S BAY, HUDSON'S TOUCHES, HUDSON'S POINT, AND HUDSON'S RIVER.

Hudson's Strait: Rio Nevado (Sebastian Cabot, 1498).

Hudson's Bay: Baia dos Medaos (Ortelius, from the Portuguese 1558-1570).

Hudson's Touches: Jan Mayen Island (Jan May, 1611).

Hudson's Point: Rudson's Point (a corruption; Zorgdrager, Scoresby.)

Hudson's River: Rio de Gamas, Rio Grande (Spaniards, 1525-1600); Cahohatatea (Indian name); Manhattan's Rivier, Groote Rivier, Noort Rivier, Montaigne Rivier, Maurits Rivier (Dutch Maps, 1615 to 1664).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST,

CONTAINING THE BOOKS, MAPS, ETC., ETC., MENTIONED IN THE PRESENT WORK.

ADELUNG. Geschichte der Schiffahrten und Versuche welche zur Entdeckung des nordöstlichen Weges nach Japan und China von verschiedenen Nationen unternommen wurden. Zum Behufe der Erdbeschreibung und Naturgeschichte dieser Gegenden entworfen von Johann Christoph Adelung. Halle, 4to, 1768.

AKERLY. An Essay on the Geology of the Hudson river, and the adjacent regions: illustrated by a geological section of the country, from the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, in New Jersey, northward, through the highlands in New York, towards the Catskill Mountains: by Samuel Akerly, one of the Vice-Presidents of the New York Lyceum of Natural History. New York, 12mo, 1820.

ALCEDO, *see* THOMPSON.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. The Library of American Biography. Edited by Jared Sparks, assisted by several of the most distinguished writers. First Series. Portraits. Ten vols., 12mo, New York. Vol. x, pp. 187-261. Life of Hudson, by R. H. Cleveland.

ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum ante-Columbianarum in America.

Samling af de i nordens Oldskrifter indeholdte Efterretninger vmdo gamle Nordboers Opdagelsesreiser til America, fra det 10 de til det 14 de Aarhundrede.

Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniæ. 1837. (Edited by C. Rafn.)

ARCHÆOLOGIA AMERICANA, *see* GALLATIN.

BARROW. A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions; undertaken chiefly for the purpose of discovering a

North-east, North-west, or Polar Passage, between the Atlantic and Pacific: from the earliest periods of Scandinavian navigation to the recent expeditions under the orders of Captains Ross and Buchan, by Sir John Barrow, F.R.S. London, 1818.

BEECHEY. A Voyage of Discovery towards the North Pole, performed in His Majesty's ships *Dorothea* and *Trent*, under the command of Captain David Buchan, R.N., 1818; to which is added a Summary of all the early attempts to reach the Pacific by the way of the Pole. By Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., F.R.S. one of the lieutenants of the expedition. Published by authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. (With a map and many illustrations.) 8vo. London, 1843.

BEGIN EN VOORTGANG von de Nederlandsche Oostindische Compagnie. 2 vols., 4to, obl., consisting of twenty-one parts with separate pagination. Amsterdam, 1646. (Daniell's Map, part i, p. 13; Hudson's Voyage, part i, p. 54.)

BEKE, *see* DE VEER, GERRIT.

BESCHERELLE. Grand Dictionnaire de Géographie universelle, ancienne et moderne. Par M. Bescherelle, ainé. 4 vols., 4to, Paris, 1856-7.

BESCHRYVINGHE van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Niew-Engelandt, en d'Eylanden Bermudes, Barbados, en S. Christoffel. Dienstelyck voor elck een derwaerts handelende, en alle voorplanten van Nieuw Colonien, met Koperen figuren verciert. 't Amsterdam, by Joost-Hartgers, Bouckverkooper op dem Dam, bezyden 't Stadthuys, op de hoeck van de Kalverstraet, in de Boeckwinckel, anno 1651. 4to. Title, 60 pp. Map.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE NEERLANDO-RUSSE, *see* ORTELIUS.

BIDDLE, *see* CABOT.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, or the Lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages down to the present times: collected from the best authorities, both printed and manuscript, and digested in the manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. London, folio, MDCCL. (Volume the fourth, pp. 2691-2695. Hudson, Henry).

BIOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE, ancienne et moderne, ou Histoire, par ordre alphabétique de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont distingués par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs

talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes. Ouvrage entièrement neuf, rédigé par une Société de Gens de lettres et de Savants. Tome xxi. Paris, 1818. (Page 10-12, Hudson Henri.)

BLAEU, Wilh. et Joh. Le Grand Atlas, ou Cosmographie Blaviane, en lequel est exactement descritte la terre, la mer et le ciel. Amsterdam. J. Blaew. 1663. 12 vol, fol.

BLEFKIN. Dithmari Blefkenii Islandia, sive populorum & mirabilium quæ in ea Insula reperiuntur, accuratior Descriptio: cui de Groulandia sub finem quædam adjecta. Lugduni Batavorum. Ex Typographeio Henrici ab Haestens. CIↃIↃCVII. 160. pp. 71.

BROCKHAUS. Allgemeine deutsche Real Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände. Conversations Lexikon. Zehnte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage in 15 Bänden. Leipzig: 1851-55. (Vol. viii, p. 102, Hudson's bay).

This edition, which is to be found in the reading room of the British Museum, does not contain the Anskoeld Myth; on the contrary, the discovery of Hudson's Strait is attributed to Sebastian Cabot. But in the earlier editions, we believe down to the eighth, the Anskoeld story exists.

BRODHEAD. History of the State of New York, by John Romeyn Brodhead. First Period, 1609-1664. Illustrated with a Map of New Netherlands, according to the charters granted by the States General, on the 11th of October, 1614, and the 3rd of June, 1621. 8vo. New York, 1853.

BUCHAN, *see* JEANNIN.

CABOT (Sebastian). His great Planisphere. A copy of this celebrated work, bearing the date of 1544, is preserved in the Imperial Library in Paris. This map is pasted upon a roller. On both sides of the engraving there are pasted explanations in letterpress, on one side in Spanish and on the other in Latin. The whole map is very large. The Latin letterpress alone fills more than twenty pages in a reprint which we are about to speak of. It is in one of these letterpress explanations that the date of 1544 occurs. Mr. Jomard has published part of the map in his "Monuments de Geographie"; that is to say, three of the four sheets it is composed of. But the most important sheet, containing North America, is yet wanting. The letterpress also has not yet appeared.

There seems to have been a second edition of this map published in the year 1549, probably in England, where Sebastian Cabot was then residing. This is to be concluded from a book by Nathan Chytræus, called "Itinerum Deliciæ." Chytræus travelled through various parts of Europe and visited Oxford in 1566. He there copied a series of inscriptions, corresponding, except in some very slight respects, with the Latin explanations of the Paris map; but with that important difference, that the date is 1549 instead of 1544. These inscriptions are reprinted in the "Itinerum Deliciæ."

In Hakluyt's Collection we find the following heading: "*An extract taken out of the Map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his Discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in Her Majesties' privie Gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants' Houses.*" This heading is followed by a description of Baccalaos or *Terra Nova*, which is evidently borrowed from the 1544 or 1549 edition of the Cabot map, but it is not by any means a literal copy. One important change consists in the alteration of the date of the voyage described in it, which is 1494 in the earlier edition and 1497 in that of Clement Adams. Adams has besides completely altered the phraseology of his text, which he has made most bombastic; lengthening out the passages by superfluous additions, so that his text is by about one-third longer than that of the original, without containing any new information.

It would seem doubtful from Hakluyt's above-quoted heading, whether Adams had copied the whole of Cabot's map or merely the delineation of Terra Nova; because the word *extract* might refer to an extract made by Adams from Cabot's map, or to an extract made from Adams's map by Hakluyt. This doubt is removed by a passage in the third volume, p. 807, of Purchas' *Pilgrims*, where the same map is more fully described. Purchas has evidently himself seen the map, which was most likely the identical copy also seen before by Hakluyt in Whitehall Gallery. It is not certain whether another map mentioned by Willes as having been in the library of the Earl of Bedford, is also identical with that seen at Whitehall. This map contained a delineation of Hudson's Strait, the description of which we have reprinted in the Introduction. This description does not correspond in all its parts with the 1544 map, and there are besides some

more details given by Willes, which are in still stronger contradistinction with the indications of the Paris copy. This circumstance has led us to the supposition that the Earl of Bedford's copy also belonged to the Clement Adams' edition, and that Adams had altered the lines of the chart as well as the words of the text. We cannot suppose that he would have dared to do so in Cabot's lifetime, and therefore think that Adams' map was published after Cabot's death (about 1557).

—— A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery. Illustrated by Documents from the Rolls now first published, by R. Biddle. London, 1831.

—— Notices concerning John Cabot and his son Sebastian; transcribed and translated from original manuscripts in the Macrian Library at Venice, by Rawdon Brown. Communicated to the Society by Edw. Cheney. Philobiblon Society, Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies. London, 1854-56.

CATLIN. Letters and notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, by George Catlin. Written during eight years travel, from 1832 to 1839, amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America. With 312 Plates. 2 vols., royal 8vo, pp. 264 and 266. New York, 1841.

CHYTRÆUS. Variorum in Europa itinerum Deliciæ, seu, ex variis Manuscriptis selectiora tantum inscriptionum, maxime recentium Monumenta....Omnia nuper collecta et hoc modo digesta à Nathane Chytræo. Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1594.

(The same book, second edition, *ibid.*, 1599; the same book, third edition, *ibid.*, 1606.)

CLEVELAND, *see* AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

COLLECTIONS of the New York Hist. Soc. For the year 1809. Vol. i. New York, 1811, 8vo.

P. 19. A discourse designed to commemorate the discovery of New York by Henry Hudson, delivered before the New York Hist. Soc., Sept. 4th, 1809, being the completing of the second century since the event. By Samuel Miller, D.D., one of the pastors of the first Presbyterian Church in the city of New York, and member of the Hist. Soc.

P. 41. A Communication from Dr. Mitchill, with respect to the several sorts of fish to be found in the Hudson.

P. 45. The Relation of De Verazzano to the King of France, of the Land by him discovered in the name of H.M.

P. 61. The Voyage of H. Hudson towards the North Pole, anno 1607.

P. 81. A Second Voyage of H. Hudson for finding a Passage to the East Indies by the N.E., anno 1608.

P. 102. The third Voyage of H. Hudson towards Nova Zembla, etc., and along the coast to 42 degrees and a half, and up the river (the Hudson) to 42 degrees, anno 1609.

COLLECTIONS of the New York Hist. Soc. Second Series. Vol. i. New York, 1841, 8vo.

P. 37. Verazzano's Voyage.

P. 69. Indian Traditions on the First Arrival of the Dutch on Manhattan Island.

P. 75. Lambrechtsen's History of New Netherlands.

P. 125. Van der Donck, Description of New Netherlands.

P. 281. Extracts from De Laet's New World.

P. 317. Juet's Journal of Hudson's Voyage.

CONVERSATIONS LEXICON, *see* BROCKHAUS.

DANIEL. Map of Spitzbergen, London, 1612, *see* Begin und Voortgang, part. i, p. 13. (*The knowledge which up to the present day we have been able to obtain of this new country, which our people call Spitzbergen and the English Greenland, we are going to represent, in a small map, in which we follow, for the most part, the Design made in London, in* 1612, *by John Daniel*). The map in the Begin und Voortgang, to which this notice alludes, corresponds in almost every particular with the map of Spitzbergen in the last edition of Hessel Gerritz's "Hudson," which is also to be found in a special work on Spitzbergen by Hessel Gerritz, published in two editions in the year 1613.

DAVIS. The Seaman's Secrets. Devided into two partes, wherein is taught the three kindes of sayling, Horizontall, Paradoxall, and sayling upon a great circle: also an Horizontall Tyde Table, for the easie finding of the ebbing and flowing of the Tydes, with a Regiment newly calculated for the finding of the Declination of the Sunne, and many other most necessary rules and instruments, not heretofore set foorth by any. Newly corrected by the author, John Davis, of Sandrudge, neere Darthmouth, in the

countie of Devon, Gent. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson. 4to, 1607.

De Laet. Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien wt veelerhande Schriften ende Aenteekeningen van verscheyden Natien by een versamelt door Joannes de Laet, ende mit noodighe Kaerten en Tafels voorsien. Tot Leyden, In de Druckerye van Isaack Elzevier, anno 1625. Met Privilegia der Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten Generael, voor 12 Jaren. Fol. Title, xxii a, 526 pages. Chapter vii to xi, pp. 100-109, description of New Netherland.

——— Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien door Joannes De Laet. Tweede druk: In ontallycke plaetsen verbetert, vermeerdert, met eenige nieuwe caerten, beelden van verscheijden dieren ende planten verciert. Tot Leyden by de Elzeviers. Ao. 1630, fol.

De Quir, *see* Gerritz-Hessel.

De Veer Gerrit. Three voyages by the North-East towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the years 1594, 1595, and 1596, with their Discovery of Spitzbergen, their residence of ten months in Novaya Zemlya, and their safe return in two open boats. Edited by C. T. Beke, Ph.D., F.S.A. 8vo, London, 1853 (Hakluyt Society).

Donck (Adrian Van der). Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland, Weghens de Gheleghentheydt, en soberen Staet deszelfs. In's Graven-Hage, ghedruckt by Michiel Hael, Bouckverkooper woonende op 't Buyten-Hof, tegenover de Gevangen-Voort. 1650, 4to. Title, 49 pages; a vignette in wood on the title.

——— Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland und Breeden Raedt aende Vereeniche Nederlandsche Provintsen. *Two rare tracts, printed in* 1649-1650, *relating to the Administration of Affairs in New Netherland. Translated from the Dutch by Henry C. Murphy.* 4to. New York, 1854.

——— Beschrijvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant, ghelyck het tegenwoordigh in Staet is, Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en Vruchtbaerheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de proffijtelijcke ende gewenste trevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen (soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht) gevonden woorden. Als mede de maniere en onghemeyne eygenschappen van de Wilden ofte Natureleen van den Lande. Ende

een bysonder verhael van den wonderlijcken Aert ende het Weesen der Bevers; daer noch by gevoeght is een d'scours over de gelegentheyt van Nieuw-Nederlandt, tusschen een Nederlandts Patriot, ende een Nieuw-Nederlander. Beschreven door Adriaen van der Donck, beyder Rechten Doctoor, die tegenwoordigh noch ni Nieuw Nederlandt is. t' Amsterdam. By Evert Nieuwhof, Bouckverkooper, woonende op 't Ruslandt in 't Schrijfboeck, anno 1655, 4to.

——— A second edition, under nearly the same title. 4to. Amsterdam, 1656.

Du Ponceau. Report made to the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society by their Corresponding Secretary on Languages of the American Indians. By P. E. Duponceau. 8vo. Philadelphia.

Eden. A treatyse of the Newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, as well Eastwards as Westwards, as they are knowen and founde in these oure days, after the description of Sebastian Munster, in his booke of Universal Cosmographie; wherein the diligent reader may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterprises, by the which not only worldly ryches are obtayned, but also God is glorified, and the Christian fayth enlarged. Translated out of Latin into English, by Richard Eden. *Præter spem sub spe.* Imprinted at London, in Lombard-street, by Edward Sutton, 1553.

——— The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towardes the fruitfull and ryche Moluccaes. As Moscovia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Aegypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo and Giapan. With a Discourse of the N.W. Passage. ("*In the Hande of our Lord be all the corners of the Earth.*"—Psal. 94.) Gathered in parte and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richarde Willes. Imprinted at London by Richarde Jugge, 1577. Cum privilegio. See also Martyr.

Forster. Geschichte der Entdeckungen und Schiffahrten im Norden aller Nationen, von J. H. Forster, Dr. der Medicin und der Weltweisheit, etc. Berlin, 1784.

——— History of the voyages and discoveries made in the North, translated from the German of John Reinhold Forster, T.U.D., and elucidated by several Maps. London, 4to, 1786.

FOXE. North-west Fox, or Fox from the North-west Passage, beginning with King Arthur, Malga, Octhur, the two ZENIS of Iseland, Estotiland, and Dorgia; following with briefe abstracts of the voyages of *Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, Waymouth, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge:* together with the Courses, Distance, Latitudes, Longitudes, Variations, Depths of Seas, Sets of Tydes, Currents, Races, and Over-Falls, with other observations, accidents, and remarkable things, as our Miseries and Sufferings. Mr. James Hall's three voyages to *Groynland,* with a Topographicall Description of the Countries, the Salvages lives and treacheries, how our men have beene slayne by them there, with the commodities of all those parts, whereby the Marchant may have Trade, and the Mariner Imployment. Demonstrated in a Polar Card, wherein are all the Maines, Seas, and Islands herein mentioned. With the author his own Voyage, being the XVIth, with the opinions and collections of the most famous Mathematicians and Cosmographers; with a Probabilitie to prove the same by Marine Remonstrations, compared by the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, experimented with places of our owne coast. By Captaine Luke Foxe, of Kingstone *upon* Hull, *Capt.* and Pylot for the voyage, in His Majesties' Pinnace the *Charles.* Printed by His Majesties' Commands. Printed by B. Alsop and Tho. Favvcet, dwelling in *Grub-street.* 4to Map, 1635 (*quoted* p. lvii).

FROBISHER. A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the North-Weast, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall. Devided into three Bookes. In the first wherof is shewed his first voyage, wherein also by the way is sette out a Geographicall Description of the Worlde and what partes thereof have bin discovered by the Navigations of the Englishmen. Also, there are annexed certayne reasons to prove all partes of the Worlde habitable; with a generall Mappe adjoyned. In the second, is set out his second voyage with the adventures and accidents thereof. In the thirde, is declared the strange fortunes which hapned in the third voyage, with a severall description of the countrey and the people there inhabiting. With a particular Card thereunto adioyned of *Meta Incognita,* so farre forth as the secrets of the voyage may permit. At London. Imprinted by Henry Bynnyman, servant to the Right Honourable

Sir Christopher Hatton, viz., Chamberlaine. Anno Domini, 1578, 4to, pp. 68.

GALLATIN. Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North-America, by Albert Gallatin, LL.D.

Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Published by Direction of the Society. Vol. i, 8vo, pp. 436. Worcester, Mass., 1820; vol. ii, Map, 8vo, pp. xxx and 573. Cambridge, 1836; vol. iii, pp. cxxviii and 377. Boston, printed for the Society, 1857 (vol. ii, p. 44).

GALVANO. Tratado dos varios, e diversos caminhos por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta e especiaria veio do India ãs nossas partes, e assim de todos os descubrimentos antigos e modernos que saõ feitos atẽ a era de 1550 com os nomes particulares das pessoas que os ficeraõ, em que tempos e suas alturas. 8o, Lisboa, por 1560.

GALVAÕ. Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos e modernos, feitos até a Era de 1550, com os nomes particulares das pessoas que os fizeraõ: e em que tempos, e as suas alturas, e dos desvairados caminhos por vnde a pimenta e especiaria veyo da India as nossas partes; obra certo muy notavel, e copiosa. Composto pelo famoso Antonio Gãlvaõ. Lisboa Occidental, na Officina Ferreiriana, MDCCXXXI. (We quote this edition.)

GERRITZ-HESSEL. Detectio Freti. FIRST EDITION. Exemplar Libelli supplicis, Potentissimo Hispaniarum Regi exhibiti à Capitaneo Petro Fernandez de Quir: super Detectione quintæ orbis terrarum partis, cui Australiæ Incognitæ nomen est. Item, Relatio super Freto per M. Hudsonum Anglum quæsito, ac in parte detecto supra Provincias Terræ Novæ, novæque Hispaniæ Chinam et Cathaiam versus ducturo: una cum Freti ipsius, quatenus iam detectus est. Tabula Nautica. Nec non Isaaci Massæ Harlemensis Samoiediæ atque Tingoëssæ Regionum ad Orientem ultra Fretum Weygats in Tartaria sitarum, nuperque Imperio Moscovito adquisitarium descriptio. Et Tractus eiusdem Tabula Russia. Latinè versa ab R. Vitellio. Amsterodami. Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi, anno 1612.

CONTENTS:

1. In tractatus sequentes Prolegomena ad Lectorem: signed Hesselius Gerardus Assumensis Philogeographus. Six pages. (*These Prolegomena are reprinted in the present book*, pp. 236, 241).

2. Relatio memorialis libelli supplicis Majestati suæ oblati, per Capitaneum Petrum Fernandez de Quir, etc... Eleven pages.

3. Samojedarum....effigies (a woodcut). One page.

4. Apographum Descriptionis Regionum Siberiæ Samojediæ et Tingoesiæ. Eight pages.

5. Itinerum atque Fluviorum, Ortum & Aquilonem versus in Moscoviam & Siberiam Samojediam etc.....ducentium, Descriptio. Thirteen pages, one page white, one white leaf; then follows: Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti. Sive Transitvs ad Occasum, supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq: Japonem ducturi, Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Narratio Ser^mo. Regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu, in quintâ Orbis terrarum parte, cui Avstraliæ Incognitæ nomen est, recens detecto, per Capitaneum Petrum Ferdinandez de Quir. Vnà cum descriptione Terræ Samoiedarvm et Tingoesiorvm, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitæ nuperq: Imperio Moscovitarum subactæ. Amsterodami, Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1612. Three pages (*reprinted in the present volume*, pp. 185-189).

Second Edition: The Second Edition, or what, perhaps, may be called so, has been produced in the following manner. The first title has been cut away, and the supplement, with its title, *Descriptio ac Delineatio*, etc., has been placed at the beginning. Nearly all the existing copies of the 1612 edition answer this description.

In both shapes the 1612 edition ought to contain the following maps. *a*. The World in two hemispheres; *b*. Hudson's map; *c*. Massa's map of Nova Zembla, etc. (a fac-simile in Dr. Beke's De Veer).

Third Edition. Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti. Sive, Transitus ad Occasum suprà terras Americanas, in Chinam atq: Japonem ducturi, Recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Exegesis Regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu recens detecto, in quinta Orbis parte, cui nomen, Avstralis Incognita. Cum descriptione Terrarum Samoiedarum, et Tingœsiorum, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitarum, nuperq: sceptro Moscovitarum adscitarum. Amsterodami, Ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1613.

CONTENTS:

1. Prolegomena. Three pages.

2. Descriptio, etc. (Hudson's Voyage, *see* present volume, 189-194). Three pages.

3. Exegesis Libelli supplicis oblati Regiæ Majestati Hispaniæ a Duce Petro Fernandez de Quir, etc. Ten pages.

4. Descriptio Regionum Siberiæ, Samojediæ, Tingojesiæ, etc. Seven pages, one page white.

5. Brevis Descriptio itinerum ducentium, & fluviorum labentium e Moscovia Orientem & Aquilonem versus. (*Signed by Isaac Massa, Haerlem.*) Eleven pages, one page white.

6. In prefatione, etc. (*Description of Nai's Voyage.*) Three pages.

8. De detectione terræ polaris sub latitude octoginta graduum (by *Hessel Gerritz*). Three pages.

9. Balena woodcut. One page, one page white. *For maps and plates see next edition.*

FOURTH EDITION. The fourth edition is almost identical with the third, only it contains an appendix of four pages, consisting—*a.* Of a preface by Hessel Gerritz, beginning with the following words: *Cum temere et inconsiderate antea scripserim....* One page. *b.* Of a treatise by Peter Plancius, intitled: Refutatio rationum quibus Angli Dominationem piscationis ad insulam Spitzbergensem..pretendere..conantur. Three pages.

The third and fourth editions ought to contain the following illustrations. *a.* The World in two hemispheres. *b.* Hudson's Map. *c.* Massa's Map. *d.* An engraving representing two sea-horses. *e.* In the fourth edition there ought to be a map of Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla.

——— Beschryvinghe vander Samoyeden Landt, in Tartarien Nieulijcks onder 't ghebiedt der Moscoviten gebracht. Wt de Russche tale overgheset, anno 1609. Met een verhael vande opsoekingh ende ontdeckinge vande nieuwe deurgang ofte straet int Noord-westen na de Rijcken van China ende Cathay; ende een "Memorial gepresenteert aenden Conningh van Spaengien, belanghende de ontdeckinghe ende gheleghenheyt van 't Land ghenaemt Australia Incognita. 't Amsterdam, by Hessel Gerritsz., Boeckvercooper opt Water inde Pascaert. Anno 1612.

CONTENTS:

1. Tot den Leser (*Preface, translation of the preface to the Latin edition of* 1612.) Six pages.

2. Verhael van d' ontdeckinghe vande nieu-ghesochte Strate in't Noord-westen, om te seylen boven langhs de Landen van America en Japan, ghedaen door Mr. Henry Hudson. Three pages, one white.

3. Copie van de Beschryvinge der Landen Siberia, Samoesia, etc. Eight pages.

4 Een Cort Verhael vande Wege ende Rivieren uyt Moscovien Oostwaerts, etc. Fourteen pages.

5. Verhael Van seker Memoriael ghepresenteert aen zyne Majesteyt by den Capiteyn Pedro Fernandez de Quir. Six pages, one page blank.

GILBERT. A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new passage to Cataja, written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight. Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton, for Richarde Thones, anno Domini 1576, Aprilis 12. (Map.) *See* also Hakluyt's Collections, iii, p. 16.

HAKLUYT. Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Islands adiacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: and certaine notes of advertisements for observations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt. With two mappes annexed heereunto for the plainer understanding of the whole matter, by Richard Hakluyt. Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke, 1582.

HAKLUYT (Richard, Prebendary of Bristol in the year 1582). Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands adjacent; collected and published. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by John Winter Jones, Esq., of the British Museum. 8vo, London, 1850 (Hakluyt Society).

HAMEL. Tradescant der Aeltere, 1618, in Russland. Der Handelsverkehr zwischen England und Russland in seiner Entstehung. Rückblick auf einige der älteren Reisen im Norden. Geschichtliche Beiträge mitgetheilt der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg, von Dr. J. Hamel, Akademiker, etc. Mit Tradescant's Portrait und einer Karte. 4o, 1847, St. Petersburg. Leipzig.

HASKEL and SMITH. A complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America, containing a particular description of the states, territories, countries, districts, parishes, cities, towns and villages, mountains, rivers, lakes, canals, and railroads; with an Abstract of the Census and Statistics for 1840. By Daniel Haskel, A.M., and T. Calvin Smith. New York, 8vo, pp. 752. 1844.

HECKEWELDER. A narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from 1704 to 1808; interspersed with anecdotes, historical facts, speeches of Indians, and other interesting matter, by John Heckewelder. 4to, Philadelphia, 1820.

HOMEM. A Portolano of nine large Charts on vellum, drawn on a plane scale by D. H. MS., British Museum.

No. 4. A Chart of the World, on a plane scale:

"Universalis Mundi figura atque Navigationum Orbis terrarum scitus." Diegus Homem cosmographus fecit hoc opus anno salutis 1558.

No. 10. The Eastern Coast of North America, the West Indian Islands, with the westernmost coasts of Europe and Africa, southward to Cape Rosse. (*Quoted* p. xcvii.)

JEANNIN. Les Négociations du Président Jeannin, publiées dans les Collections des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, depuis l'avènement de Henri IV, jusqu'à la Paix de Paris conclue en 1763; avec des Notices sur chaque auteur et des observations sur chaque Ouvrage, par M. Petitot, Paris, 1822.

Lettre au Roi écrite par M. Jeannin, le dit jour vingt-cinquième Janvier 1609, sur la recherche du passage du Nord.

Vol. xv, p. 141. *See also* Panthéon litteraire; Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires, sur l'Histoire de France, avec Notices littéraires par J. A. C. Buchon. Paris, 1838. *Négociations du President Jeannin*, p. 578.

JONAS. Brevis Comentarius de Islandia: quo scriptorum de hac Insula errores deteguntur, et extraneorum quorundum convitijs ac calumnijs quibus Islandis liberius insultare solent, occurritur; per Arngrimum Jonam Islandum.

A briefe Commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as have written concerning this Island are detected, and the slanders and reproaches of cer-

taine strangers which they have used over-boldly against the people of Island are confuted, by Arngrimus Jonas of Island. Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592, the 17 of the Kalends of May.

See Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i, p. 515.

JONES, *see* HAKLUYT.

LAMBRECHTSEN. Korte Beschrijving van de Ontdekking en der verdere Lotgevallen van Nieuw-Nederland, weleer eene volkplanting van het gemeenebest der vereenigde Nederlanden in America, door Mr. N. C. Lambrechtsen van Ritthem. Te Middelburg, bij S. van Benthem, MDCCCXVIII. With a Map of New Netherland.

LELEWEL. Géographie du Moyen âge, étudiée par Joachim Lelewel, accompagnée d'Atlas et de Cartes dans chaque volume. 4 vols., 8vo, Bruxelles, 1852. Atlas, 4to obl. Bruxelles, 1850.

LINSCHOTEN (van Huyghen). Itinerario Voyagie ofte Schipvaert, von Jan Huyghen van Linschoten. Folio. Amsterdam, 1595, with following supplements: *a.* Beschrijvinghe van Guinea. *b.* Reys Geschrijft van de Navigatien der Portugaluysers. *c.* Een seker. *d.* Extract vande Renten des Coninghs var Spaengien. The same, second edition, folio, Amsterdam, 1604 and 1605. Third edition, folio, Amsterdam, 1614. Fourth edition, folio, Amsterdam, 1624. Fifth edition, folio, Amsterdam, 1644.

——— Voyagie ofte shipvaert, van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, van by Noorden vm langes Noorwegen de Noortcaep, Laplant, Vinlant, Ruslandt, de Witte Zee, de Custen van Candenoes, Swetenoes, Pitzora, etc., door de strate ofte Engte van Nassau tot voorby de Revier Oby. Waer inne seer distinctelicken verhaels ghewijse beschreven ende aenghewesen wordt, alle t' ghene dat hem op de selve Reyse van dach tot dach bejeghent en voorghecomen is. Met de afbeeldtsels van alle de Custen, Hoecken, Landen, Opdoeningen, Streckinghen, Coursen, Mijlen, ende d'ander merckelicke dingen meer: Gelijc als hy 't alles selfs sichtelicken end waerachtelicken nae 't leven uytgewerpen ende gheannoteert heeft, etc. Anno 1594 end 1598. Ghedruct tot Franeker, by Gerard Ketel. Containing a large number of geographical diagrams. Second edition. The same title. Amsterdam, 1624.

LOPEZ DE GOMARA. La Historia General de las Indias, con

todos descubrimientos, y cosas notables que han acaescido en ellas, dende que se ganaron hasta agora, escrita por Francisco Lopez de Gomara, clerigo. Añadiose de nuevo la descripcion y traça de las Indias, con una Tabla alphabetica de las Provincias, Islas, Puertos, Ciudades, y nombres de conquistadores y varones principales que alla han passado. En Anvers. Anno M.D.LIIII.

Литке (Lütke). Четырекратное путешествіе въ сѣверный Ледовитый Океанъ, совершенное по повелѣнію Императора Александра I, на военномъ бригѣ "Новая Земля," въ 1821, 1822, 1823 и 1824 годахъ, Флота Капитанъ-Лейтенантомъ Ѳедоромъ Литке. Санктпетербургъ 1828. (2 Vols. 4to. maps.)

Lütke. Viermalige Reise durch das nördliche Eismeer. German translation by Erman (forming vol. ii of Berghaus's Kabinets-Bibliothek der neuesten Reisen). 8vo, Berlin, 1835.

M'Clintock. The Voyage of the *Fox* in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions, by Captain Sir F. Leopold M'Clintock, R.N., LL.D., Honorary Member Royal Dublin Society. With Maps and Illustrations. London, 1859.

Marco Polo. The travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century; being a description by that early traveller of remarkable places and things in the Eastern parts of the World. Translated from the Italian, with notes, by William Marsden. With Maps. London, 1818, 4to.

Marsden, *see* Marco Polo.

Martyr. De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, Protonotarij, & Caroli quinti Senatoris, Decades octo, diligenti temporum observatione & utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suoque nitori restitutæ; Labore et industria Richardi Hakluyti, Oxoniensis Angli. Additus est in usum lectoris accuratus totius operis index. Parisiis, M.D.LXXXVII.

———— The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately found in the West-Ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In the which the diligent reader may not only consyder what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the hole Christian Worlde in the tyme to come, but also learne many secreates touchynge the lande, the sea, and the starres, very

necessarie to be knowē to al such as shal attempte any navigations, or otherwise have delite to beholde the strange and woonderfull woorkes of God and nature. Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysche by Rycharde Eden. Londini. In ædibus Guilhelmi Powell, anno 1555.

METEREN (Van). Emanuels van Meteren Historie der Nederlandscher ende haerder Naburen Oorlogen ende Geschiedenissen, Tot den Jare MVICXII. Nu de laestemael bij hem voor sijne doodt merckelyck verbetert end in XXXII Boecken voltrocken. Is mede hier by gevoegt des Autheurs leven. Verrijckt beneffens de Land-Caerte met by na hondert correcte Conterfeijtsels vande voortreflijcste Personagien in dese Historie verhaelt. Alle cierlijck na d' leven ghedaen ende in Coperen platen gesteken. Gedruckt int' Jaer ons Heeren MDCXIV. In s' Graven-Haghe by Hillebrandt Jacobssz, Ordinaris ende Ghesvooren Drucker van de Hog. ende Mo. Heeren Staten Generael, anno 1614. Met Privilegie. Folio, pp. 671. (Map.)

MOLYNEUX GLOBE. This Globe is mentioned by John Davis, in a work called "The World's hydrographical Description," 4to, London, 1594, from which an extract, containing the passage here alluded to is to be found in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii, p. 120. The following is the passage in question: "*How far I proceeded and in what fourme this discovery lyeth, doth appeare upon the globe which Master Sanderson to his verye great charge hath published, whose labouring endeavor for the good of his countrie deserveth great favor and commendation. Made by Master Henry Mullineux, a man well qualified, of a good judgment, and verye expert in many excellent practises, in my selfe being the oneli meanes with Master Sanderson to imply Master Mullineux therein, whereby he is now growne to a most exquisite perfection.*"

A later edition of the same Globe is to be found in the Library of the Middle Temple. It is about two feet high, and bears the following inscription: Lectoris. In hoc globo scribendo, amice lector, ubique sequuti sumus castigatissimas chartas marinas, quibus Hispani et Lusitani in suis Americis et Orientalibus Indicis navigationibus utuntur. Nec non Anglicorum aliquot hominum excellentium probatissimas geographicas descriptiones in septen-

trionalibus hujus Globi delineandis partibus, summa cum fide, diligentia, summaque cura imitati sumus. Anno Domini 1603. Emerius Mulleneux, Angl. sumptibus Guilelmi Sandersoni Londinensis descripsit.

There are also some other inscriptions, especially a long dedication to Queen Elizabeth; and the following note, which is in letterpress: *This globe, belonging to the honourable Society of the Middle Temple, was repaired in the year* 1818 *by F. & W. Newton, Globe makers, Chancery Lane.*

Sir John Barrow, who saw the globe shortly after its restoration, thought that the date (1603) must be wrong, because Davis had made mention of this globe in 1594. Sir John is, however, mistaken. The globe in the Middle Temple Library contains Barents' delineation of *Nova Zembla,* which was drawn in 1596 and published in 1598. The date of the globe is therefore very probably correct, only the copy in the Middle Temple is not of the first edition.

MOULTON, *see* YATES.

MUILKERK, Mynheer Berg van Dussen. Bydragen tot Geschiedenis onzer Kolonizatie in Noord-America. Two parts, without place or date. (Amsterdam, about 1851.)

MULLER, *see* BIBLIOGRAPHIE NEERLANDO-RUSSE, *see* MURPHY, *see* ORTELIUS.

MURPHY. Henry Hudson in Holland. An inquiry into the origin and object of the voyage which led to the discovery of the Hudson River. With bibliographical notes. By H. C. Murphy. Hague, large 8vo, pp. 72. 1859.

Après l'impression de cette feuille j'ai reçu la notice très-intéressante de Mr. H. C. Murphy (Ministre des Etats-Unis auprès de la cour des Pays-Bas), sur H. Hudson et le livre de Massa; travail hautement remarquable qui traite à fond tout ce qui se rapporte à ce sujet. Cette notice qui n'est tirée qu'à très-petit nombre d'exemplaires et pas dans le commerce n'est fut distribué par l'auteur qu'à peu de personnes. Fred. Muller, Bibliographie Neerlando-Russe, p. 172.

Mr. Murphy is said to be a studious man, who bestows considerable pains on his researches. He is the translator of *Van der Donck's Vertoogh* (*see* Donck).

NAVARETTE. Colleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que

hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo xv. con varios documentos inéditos concernientes à la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los establècimientos españoles en Indias, coordinada è illustrada por Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, de la orden de San Juan, etc., etc. Tom. v. Madrid., 8o, 1825-37.

North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal. Commenced in May, 1815, at Boston. Vols. i to ix, forming the First Series. Published from May, 1815, to September, 1819. New Series, vols. x to lxxxv, from January, 1820, to October, 1857, and continued quarterly. Two parts forming a volume.

O'Callaghan. History of New Netherlands; or, New York under the Dutch, by E. B. O'Callaghan. Two vols., 8vo, New York, 1846 (*quoted* pp. lvi, lvii).

Ortelius. Ortelii, abr. Theatrum orbis Terrarum. Antverp. Aegid. Coppenius Diesth. 1570, fol. (*Réimprimé par le même éditeur en* 1571 *et en* 1573, *et puis chez Plantin en* 1584, 1592, 1595, 1601, 1624, etc.) Fr. Muller, Bibliographie Neerlando-Russe, p. 118.

Petitot, *see* Jeannin.

Philobiblon Society Miscellanies, *see* Cabot.

Pontanus. Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium Historia. In qua Hollandiæ primum atque inde Amstelandiæ, oppidique natales, exordia progressus, privilegia, statuta, eventaque mirabilia cum novis urbis incrementis comercijsque ac navigationibus longinquis, aliaque ad politiam spectiantia, additis suo loco tabulis eri incisis, ad hæc usque tempora, observata annorum serie accuratè omnia deducuntur. Auctore Joh. Isacio Pontano. Accedunt sub calcem auctores vetustiores duo nunquam editi. Quorum nomina et seriem versa pagella indicabit. Amsterodami Sub Cane vigilanti excudit Judocus Hondius. An. D. 1611. (Folio, pp. 292; App., pp. 40.)

——— Historische Beschryvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coop-Stadt Amsterdam. Waerinne benevens de eerste beginselen ende opcomsten der Stadt, verscheyden Privilegien, ordonantien, ende andere ghedenckweerdighe Geschiedenissen, met het ghene de nieuwe vergrootinghen der Stadt, als oock de handel ende verre reysen ende Politie betreffende is, tot desen tegenwoordighen tijt, nae het vervolch der jaeren verhaelt werdt. Eerst in Latyn

ghestelt unà beschreven door Joh. Isacium Pontacum. Ende by den selven oock voderhandt weerstich oversien ende op veel plaetsen vermeerdert ende verbetert. Ende nu wt des Autheurs laetste Copije in Nederduyts overgheset door Petrum Montanum. Alles met copere Figuren afghebeelt ende verciert. Tot Amsterdam, ghedruckt by Judocum Hondium, woonende in de Calver Straet, in den Wackeren Hont. Anno 1614. Met Privilegie.

PURCHAS. His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages and places discovered from the creation unto the present. In foure parts. With briefe description of the countries, nations, states, discoveries, private and publike customes, and the most remarkable rarities of nature, or humane industrie in the same. London, by William Hanby for Henrie Fetherstone. 1613. Folio. Contains an account of Hudson's Voyage from Gerritz.

—— His Pilgrimage. The third edition, much enlarged, with additions through the whole work. London, 1617. Folio. This edition is, at least as regards the chapter on Hudson, like the one of 1626. The Hudson chapter is to be found on pp. 924-926.

—— Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and others. Wherein God's Wonders in Nature and Providence, the acts, arts, varieties, and vanities of men, with a world of the world's rarities, are by a world of Eye-withnesse related to the world. Some left written by Mr. Hakluyt at his death, more since added, his also perused and perfected. All examined, abbreviated, illustrated with notes, enlarged with discourses, *adorned with pictures and expressed in maps,* in fower parts, each containing five Bookes. Purchas, his Pilgrimage. The fourth edition, much enlarged, with additions, etc. London, by William Hanby for Henry Fetherstone. 1625-6. Folio. Five vols.

RAFN, *see* ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ.

RAMUSIO. Navigazioni e viaggi raccolti gia da M. C. B. Ramusio. *Vinegia,* Giunti. 3 vol. in fol. 1550-1613.

RIBERO, *see* SPRENGEL.

RUNDALL (Thomas, Esq.) Narratives of early voyages undertaken for the Discovery of a passage to Cathaja and India, by the N. West; with selection from the Records of the Worshipful

Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, and from MSS. in the Library of the British Museum, now first published. 1849. London (Hakluyt Society).

SCORESBY. An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery, by W. Scoresby, jun., F.R.S.E. (Maps and Illustrations.) Two vols. Edinb, 1820.

SMITH. Description of New England, by Capt. John Smith. London. 4to, pp. 61, and a Map. 1616.

SPARKS, *see* AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

SPRENGEL. Ueber T. Ribero's älteste Welt Charte, von M. C. Sprengel. Weimar, 1795. Containing the following Map: Charte von America aus der ältesten noch unedirten Welt-Karte von Diego Ribero, Cosmograph Karls V. vom Jahre 1529, ausgehoben und nach dem handschriftlichen Originale in gleicher Grösse gezeichnet von F. K. Gussefeld.

STOW. The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by Maister John Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne and domestique, auncient and moderne, unto the ende of this yeere 1614, by Edmond Howes, Gentleman. Londini. Impensis Thomæ Adams, 1615.

THOMPSON. The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West-Indies, containing an entire translation of the Spanish work of Don Antonio de Alcedo, with large additions and compilations from modern voyages and travels, and from original and authentic information, by G. A. Thompson, Esq. In five volumes. London, 4to, 1812-1815. (Vol. ii, pp. 263-266. Hudson.)

WILLES. For M. Cap. Furbysher's Passage by the Northwest, Or China in Cathayo, situated in the East side of Great Asy. Of the Iland Giapan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean, by the way from Cathayo to the Moluccaes, by Richarde Willes. To the ryght honourable and vertuous Ladie, the Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwyke. (Eden, *History of Travayle in the Indies*, p. 230).

WINTER JONES, *see* HAKLUYT.

YATES and MOULTON. History of New York, including its Aboriginal and Colonial Annals, by John V. N. Yates and Joseph W. Moulton. 8vo. New York, vol. i, A. Goodrich, 1824; vol. ii, E. Bliss, 1826.

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